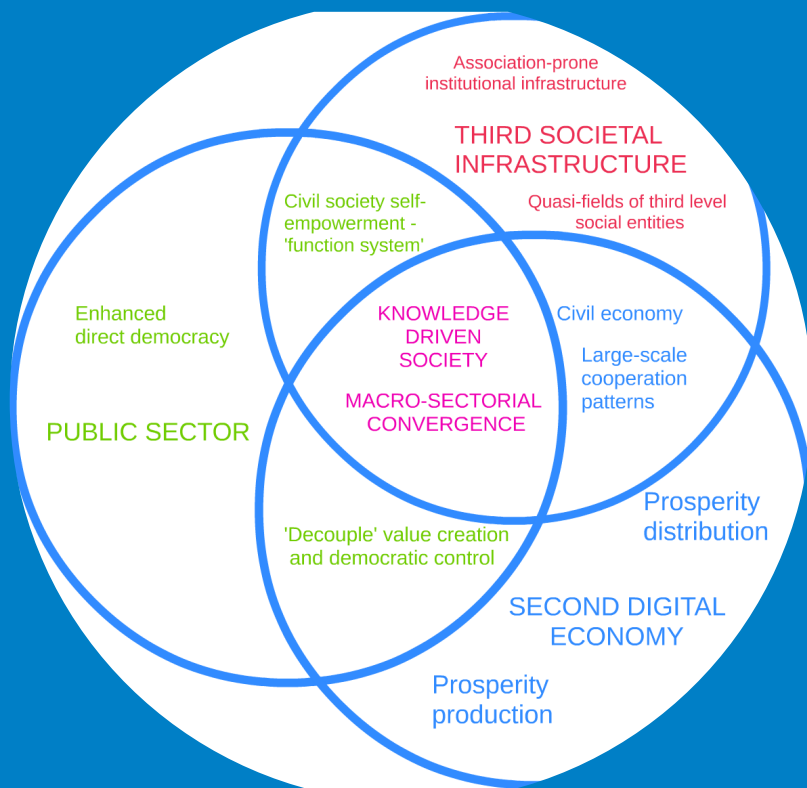


TRANSFORMATIONAL OUTCOMES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

József Veress



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Abstract

The study is an explorative inquiry of the empirical world of civil society organizations. The thesis analyses their transformational outcomes in context of networked knowledge-based societies and emerging digital second economy (Arthur, 2011). Recent systematic surveys indicate an ongoing global participative revolution (Salamon et al., 2003) and the growing role of civil society - for decades under-researched (Anheier, 2004). The thesis focuses on a sample-case and it analyses five clusters of 21 case-communities located primarily in Finland and Hungary that may exemplify a broad array of civil society organizations with transformational dynamism. The collection of empirical data combined interviews, (participative-) observation, and archival research. The study deploys methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005) and process methods to explore organizational change. The thesis follows an 'extended' realist view (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas, 1989) by analysing transformational impacts (actual domain); sources and mechanisms of transformational dynamism (real domain); and yet emergent, transformational outcomes constitutive of associational societal kinetics ('future domain'). It allows for creating "ideal type" (Weber, 1949) constructs constitutive of the civil society players' transformational dynamism and social agency.

The study argues that civil society entities are characterized by feedbacks of (i) association-prone configuration of structuration (Giddens, 1984) and (ii) continuous self-organizing enabling to "organize without organization" (Shirky, 2008). This constellation interplays with multidimensional changes including association-prone institutional transformations and horizontal and decentralized enactment, sharing, and multiplication of distributed resources. The association-prone institutional-relational dynamism and improved effectiveness of resourcing are mutually catalytic and provide the capability of social agency. They generate abundant social capital and a radius of trust reaching beyond boundaries of particular organizations enabling networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities bringing about new dialectics of cooperation (and competition). Such collaboration 'without boundaries' has inclusive and un-fragmented character - preventing paradoxical transformation of intra-organizational cooperation into dominance-seeking inter-organizational competition. This constellation may generate associational societal kinetics and 'horizontal emergence' of knowledge societies through convergence among market and public sectors and self-empowering civil society that is driven by a new, digital second economy. These feedback transformations interplay with the extension and upgrading of collective resource base and the improved effectiveness of common resourcing operating as selective mechanism of changes.

Keywords civil society, cooperative dynamism, enhanced effectiveness of resourcing,

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research problem

There is a “global associational revolution” (Salamon et al., 2003) underway. It may bring about a cooperative, more bottom-up, empowering, and transformational dynamism, which is growingly commons, community and social networks driven. The “...rise of the civil society...may, in fact, prove to be as significant a development of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as the rise of the nation-state was of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” - indicate Salamon et al. (2003:2) by summing up findings from a decade-long and truly global survey of civil society¹. There is growing awareness that “...civil society organizations offer services ...contribute to a broad social infrastructure that supports society. ...These associations are not an add-on; they are integral to any vibrant society and support the activities of the private sector through enhancing productivity (Putnam, 1993, 2000) and the activities of the public sector through strengthening democracy. Without those organizations, society, as we know it, would not exist”(Mook et al.,2015:128-129).

A major challenge and paradox of mass societies in the current industrial information era is the robust duality of empowering and disempowering tendencies. The individuals and their various groups are at the same time subjects and objects of local-global dynamics that aggregate ultimately into powerful transformational tendencies constitutive of globalization. Changes and effects initiated and shaped by many, often remote and unknown agents generate significant impacts on everyone's daily life frequently letting few or no chance to handle them. Confronted with similar trends, individuals in mass societies often feel lonely and disempowered, perceiving they are increasingly out of control (Castells, 1996; Beck, 2000; Vitányi, 2007). The “associational revolution” (Salamon et al., 2003) is fuelled by a wish - which may often remain tacit - to overcome these negative experiences. It creates motivation to participate voluntarily in collaborative and mutually empowering efforts unfolding frequently through various web2.0 and virtual phenomena besides ‘more traditional’ civil society entities.

¹ The Johns Hopkins University carried out the first global research of civil society, the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (Salamon et al., 2003). The program launched in 1991 with local researchers in 13 countries currently covers 45 countries (<http://ccss.jhu.edu/research-projects/comparative-nonprofit-sector/about-cnp>).

Civil society may and should enhance its role as a function system of society (Reichel, 2012)² that “...is the provision of stability for joint collective action for something greater than just individual benefits...for the common good and social coherence ...to solve...[also wicked] problems that are not solved by any other part of society”(Reichel, 2012:58-60). The communities seen as typical, modern civil society entities are the most ancient organizations which historically emerged together and served as domains of human self-creation (Vitányi, 2007). Due to their multifaceted character and history they may represent the broad array of civil society organizations, which possess growing potential to act as a considerable economic force, strong employer, and growingly significant domain of GDP and revenue generation, as well as increasingly active political actor with ascendant impact. The communities serve as domains of volunteer and meaningful activities since their members’ cooperation may unfold as passionate and sharing co-creation, as non-wage work. Its significance increases especially in context of “jobless growth” (OECD, 2012)³, i.e. growing shortage and lack of decent jobs⁴.

The communities promote volunteer cooperation in a world characterized by extending, dominance-seeking competition (Benkler, 2006, 2011). They catalyse “natural cooperation” (Nowak, 2006) having robust role in broader sense in evolution⁵ by serving also as its driver besides competition and selection as recent research indicates (Nowak, 2006; Benkler, 2011), The volunteers’ collaboration may enable “...to re-establish the original face-to-face character of relationships characteristic for primary communities in a world where superficial connections, relations almost sweep away the ones with genuine depth”(Vitányi, 2007:223).

The thesis assumes that community members are volunteering individuals, who attempt to find, co-create solutions to diverse problems and fulfil various needs through socializing and cooperating. They follow intrinsic motivation to participate in and contribute to collaborative efforts in certain commonly appreciated fields and their interactions simultaneously generate their - virtual or physical - communities or networks. The collaboration among community members frequently offers non-conventional solutions and may tackle locally broader, eventually also global challenges in genuinely sustainable manner. I.e. the communities are

² Civil society is “...a function system that is not in the ‘in between’ of everything, as so many definitions claim, but that has a clear locus in society with a clear and necessary function...”(Reichel, 2012:58-60).

³ Employment Outlook 2012

⁴ Lack of alternative has special importance for young and aging people at risk of becoming “lost generations”.

⁵ “Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of evolution is its ability to generate cooperation in a competitive world. Thus, we might add “natural cooperation” as a third fundamental principle of evolution beside mutation and natural selection” - points out Nowak (2006).

domains facilitating to belong, to share a “team spirit”, to socialize, and to enjoy collaborative relational dynamism. They enable to make a difference by contributing to change and mutually self-empowering social agency.

While voluntarily cooperating, the community members enact association-prone institutional settings or cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) and powers (Page and Czuba, 1999) by mobilizing locally available, distributed resources. They generate and capitalise on altered, association-prone pattern of structuration by carrying out self-organizing collaboration. Through their networking they may extend the radius of trust (Fukuyama, 1999) and the scope of trustful and intimate relationships well beyond boundaries of particular groups and entities. Moreover, the communities are capable of affecting the very essence of cooperation by catalysing its qualitative upgrading and new dialectics. I.e. they allow overcoming and preventing paradoxical consequences of ‘traditional’ patterns of collaboration ‘within boundaries’.

Although cooperation is often presented as phenomenon which per its definition is positive, empirical evidences indicate the presence of its potential ‘dark side’ too (Fukuyama, 1999; Benkler, 2011). The limited, group solidarity enhances cooperation oriented against other individuals and groups. It may produce abundant social capital with plenty of ‘negative externalities’ (Fukuyama, 1999)⁶. Such intra-organizational cooperation may generate inter-organizational conflicts - by creating a ‘cooperation paradox’. In other words, collaboration based on and driven by group solidarity, unfolding in particular groups or entities generates domination-seeking competition externally and amplifies tensions and collisions with ‘others’, non-members. It may lead to conflicts, hostility, and violence across fields by ultimately affecting the society as a whole (Fukuyama, 1999; Benkler, 2011).

Civil society and its organizations in general, and their transformational potential and effects in particular, are currently under-researched (Anheier, 2004). Despite their growing influence and significance there is rather little written about communities and networks and even less about their multi-dimensional and -level interplay with societal changes and transformations. The current work explores the transformational dynamism and empowering potential of communities seen as examples of multiple and variegated civil society organizations. This

⁶ There are criminal acts and events of mass genocide carried out by voluntarily cooperating community members who „internally” generate and capitalize on high level of social capital (Fukuyama, 1999).

allows studying transformational outcomes of civil society organizations characterized by and capable generating more association-prone dynamism.

Since the communities are domains for self-organizing activities with local-global dynamics unfolding at multiple levels from local till societal the exploration of their transformational dynamism may offer conclusions relevant also to growing activity and social agency of self-empowering global civil society. The thesis analyses communities as interplay among (i) the members' volunteer, self-organizing, collaborative activities, (ii) the transformational dynamism they generate, and (iii) their broader, ultimately also societal, impacts. The following sections elaborate on changing characteristics of and feedbacks between communities and civil society by 'setting the scene' for subsequent in depth analysis.

1.2 Communities as civil society organizations

The notion of communities lacks a broadly accepted definition as the review of previous research indicates. Currently, communities are perceived as typical, modern civil society or "third sector" organizations. It is worth recalling, however, that communities are among the most ancient organizations of human history, while civil society as a concept and phenomenon (re-)appeared only with emergence of the industrial era and society (Vitányi, 2007). The interplay between individuals and their communities constitutes fundamental context of human history (Vitányi, 2007). The human beings are "persons in community" (Whitehead, 1929; Cobb, 2007; Nonaka et al., 2008) although individuals are frequently (partly or fully) unaware of it. Since human communities exhibited historically domains of key importance for the individuals' survival and cooperative self-creation, they mutually generate, shape, presuppose, and transform each other. The next section elaborates on changing character and notion of community by discussing its interplay with the members' self-transformation and pointing out at the interdependence between individuals and their communities.

The changing character and notion of communities

Communities possess a multi-layered, comprehensive, and to some extent controversial notion that has undergone significant changes historically. They indicate, simultaneously, such diverse phenomena and dynamisms as unity and separation, sameness and difference, local and global. Their multidimensional and altering meaning is also well reflected in

linguistic dimension⁷. The notion of community in English tacitly accepts the interconnectedness between two major, basic types and dimensions of human association⁸. It indicates (i) the society seen as a large community ultimately embracing humankind as a whole; as well as (ii) various commons, groups, distinct entities, constitutive of human society. In other words, the underlying approach of the term indicates that diverse communities ‘by definition’ are active catalysts and ‘organic constituents’ of human association in its broadest, global sense. Consequently, the meaning of community currently embraces all kind and size of groups of collaborating people. This ‘omnipresence’ and multidimensionality of the phenomenon makes it difficult to find its simple and broadly accepted definition⁹.

The community is a tighter and more cohesive social entity within the context of larger society due to the presence of “unity of will” that may also inform about its functions and sources of identity - points out Tönnies (1887)¹⁰. He argues for deliberate differentiation between “community” (*Gemeinschaft*) and “association, society” (*Gesellschaft*). Historically, shared social understanding and communal networks were seen as the communities’ defining characteristics - recalls Tönnies. Family and kinship were perfect expressions of this approach, but place or belief, and other shared characteristics could also result in “community” (*Gemeinschaft*): i.e. the legacies of “first degree” (Vitányi, 2007), ancient, natural communities affected significantly the definitions that Tönnies (1887) offers. According to him more recent groups belong to “*Gesellschaft*”, i.e. members of associations or societies are motivated mainly by “self-interest”. The ideal types are rarely present in practice; the various social entities usually exhibit a mixture - emphasizes Tönnies (1887).

A more recent and practical definition points out that “...one useful understanding of the concept of ‘community’ is that community is self-defining: it can be ‘the people with the

⁷ The English word “community” derives from the classical Latin *communitāt-* or *communitās*. These expressions mean “...joint possession or use, participation, sharing, social relationship, fellowship, organized society, shared nature or quality, kinship, obligingness...” - as The Oxford English Dictionary describes. The community with definite article means the “...civic body to which all belong; the public”, i.e. the society as a whole. The community denotes also commons or commonalty, the “... body of people having common or equal rights or rank, as distinguished from the privileged classes...” It may indicate however also a smaller “... group of people who share the same interests, pursuits, or occupation, esp[ecially] when distinct from those of the society in which they live”. The community is often used to denote also a “... body of people who live in the same place, usually sharing a common cultural or ethnic identity”(Oxford English Dictionary - ‘community’).

⁸ Many other cultures and languages exhibit similar approach in connection to the notion of communities.

⁹ In the mid-1950s more than ninety definitions of communities existed – as Hillery (1955:111) indicates.

¹⁰ Tönnies (1887) titled his book “*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*” (Community and Society, Association).

problem' (Stoecker 2005b:45-46). It does not mean that all communities are "problematic". The point is that the community members often identify some form of need they try to fulfil by changing circumstances and improving related individual or group conditions (Stoecker and Stillman 2006). Sometimes these needs (and associated programs) have been identified by outside funders..."(Stillman, 2006:220).

The virtual communities' mass-emergence and spread is a result of the Internet and other enabling technologies. A virtual community is "...a social network of individuals who interact through specific media, potentially crossing geographical and political boundaries in order to pursue mutual interests or goals. One of the most pervasive types of virtual community include social networking services, which consist of various online communities"(Rheingold, 1993)¹¹. After "...the advent of the Internet, the concept of community no longer has geographical limitations, as people can now virtually gather in an online community and share common interests regardless of physical location... Virtual communities...are usually dispersed geographically, and therefore are not communities under the original definition. Some online communities are linked geographically...as community websites....Virtual communities resemble real life communities in the sense that they both provide support, information, friendship and acceptance between strangers"(Wikipedia - virtual community)¹².

Virtual networks exhibit informal and self-organizing relationship patterns that frequently play significant roles despite lacking any formal or legal status. Their members' personal relationships are effective and may cut across boundaries of other organizations and social fields allowing their presence and activity in market and public sector organizations¹³. They provide flexibility - often of vital importance - even in rigid and highly bureaucratic hierarchies. Virtual communities exemplify that organizational boundaries may also serve as catalysts of active linkages with the broader environment rather than being separating and dividing borderlines. Virtual communities and informal networks were present and active much before the emergence of Internet and other enabling, information-communication

¹¹ The notion of "virtual community" was first used by Howard Rheingold (1993) as the title of his book.

¹² Virtual community-Wikipedia Available from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Virtual_community [Accessed on 19 April 2016].

¹³ Some of them, similar to various "old boys' networks", received stronger visibility and triggered research interest, such as the informal, "cafeteria" networks among experts in Silicon Valley companies (Powell, 2005).

technologies¹⁴ as “small world” phenomenon¹⁵ exemplifies. However, virtual communities may upgrade, and elevate their activity to a higher quality level and expand its scope by utilizing the rapid spread of enabling, mostly digital technologies.

The literature discusses communities and their dynamism in term of:

- (i) goals and motivations of their members to participate as agents in volunteer cooperation (Tönnies 1887, ed. Harris 2001; Scharmer, 2007; Stoecker, 2005);
- (ii) internal processes and linkages of cooperative interactions and subsequent structural dynamism (Scharmer, 2007; Nonaka et al., 2001; Kulkki, 1996; 1998);
- (iii) patterns of governance and underlying values (Scharmer, 2007; Powell, 1990, 2006);
- (iv) identity and functions (Tönnies 1887; Giddens 1998; Csányi 1989; Stoecker, 2005).

In various definitions divergence appears in judgements regarding the importance of (i) self- and group identity; (ii) self-governance; and (iii) the innovative and co-creative character¹⁶.

This thesis assumes that communities emerge through self-organizing, volunteer, diversified and multi-coloured activities. They simultaneously fulfil multiple needs and enable their members’ mutual empowerment and individuation (Grenier, 2006)¹⁷. The members of explored communities volunteer and exercise freedom of joining and participating or leaving. They are ready to share perceptions, ideas, visions, goals, responsibilities, needs, activities, resources, problems, circumstances, belonging, and legacies. The volunteers contribute without receiving direct or indirect material or financial remuneration for their activities and frequently fulfil higher level needs such as self-esteem or self-activation (Maslow, 1943).

This study focuses on self-organizing and self-governing communities of volunteering individuals freely joining to carry out co-creative and innovative collaboration, which is

¹⁴ Simmel (1908/1971) discussed characteristics of personal interactions in dyads, triads, and loose social networks by providing indications that may be relevant also to virtual communities.

¹⁵ Milgram (1967) explored small-world phenomenon to justify that the world is becoming increasingly interconnected. His experiments are often associated with the idea of “six degrees of separation”.

¹⁶ A community can be seen as ‘ba’ (Nonaka, 1995), i.e. domain to create and advance individual and collective knowledge through permanent spiralling among tacit and explicit, individual and collective knowledge’s feedbacks with emergence of improved human relationships also facilitating (collective) un-alienation efforts.

¹⁷ “...There is an important distinction between...- what could be called selfish individualism - and what is sometimes referred to as individuation ...Beck and Giddens...argue. Individuation is the freeing up of people from their traditional roles and deference to hierarchical authority, and their growing capacity to draw on wider pools of information and expertise and actively chose what sort of life they lead. Individuation is...as Beck points out... about the politicization of day-to-day life; the hard choices people face ...in crafting personal identities and choosing how to relate to issues such as race, gender, the environment, local culture, and diversity” (Grenier, 2006:124-125).

inclusive and un-fragmented. In this regard, the thesis does not explore entities whose common identity and activity is oriented against other individuals or collectives¹⁸. The explored modern communities exemplify broad array of “civil society” or “third sector” organizations exhibiting all characteristics indicated by the first global civil society survey (Salamon et al., 2003), namely:

- (i) are outside institutional structures of government or public sector (in that sense they are “private”);
- (ii) are not commercial and do not exist to distribute profits to their directors or “owners” (they do not belong to domain of corporate or market sector either);
- (iii) are self-governing and self-organizing;
- (iv.) the members volunteer, are free to join, support and leave an organization.

Consequently, the thesis examines communities that are “second order”¹⁹ (Vitányi, 2007) civil society organizations²⁰ whose members:

- (i) act voluntarily, and are free to join or leave the organization;
- (ii) follow shared missions, visions and goals; decide together about fields, frames and forms, organizational principles and rules, structures and mechanisms of their common activities embodying those principles, i.e. are self-governing;
- (iii) organize and carry out activities through mutually adaptive, parallel and distributed interactions, i.e. are self-organizing; and
- (iv) jointly identify, access and mobilize resources necessary for their common activities²¹.

The study points out that the members of explored communities frequently possess threefold motivation and follow a dual target. They wish to (i) carry out common activity in a particular, mutually appreciated field or context²² and achieve commonly accepted task(s).

¹⁸ Communities that aim to limit or terminate particular activities or phenomena - such as slavery, human trafficking, abuse, violence - may belong to observed entities.

¹⁹ Communities similar to other civil society organizations operating in the industrial era are *second degree or order* social entities (Vitányi, 2007), i.e. their members freely decide to participate in and voluntarily contribute to their activities. In pervious historical eras the individuals belonged to a primary or *first degree* community with and by their births. Historically belonging to a community was the (pre-) condition of the individual's survival. Therefore, in a sense, rather the community ‘owned’ members, and they belonged and were the “constitutive parts” of a community.

²⁰ The communities that focus on factors similar to kinship, origin, social position, faith, common geographical location do not belong to primary units of analysis.

²¹ I.e. in a sense, they are self-sustaining.

²² An interviewee indicated the importance to utilise participation in diverse communities whose members share similar topics, life situations, since the dialogue with them allow enrich one's life significantly (100-20-22-5).

The empirical data indicate simultaneous presence of strong motivation²³ to (ii) belong and participate in collaborative efforts, and (iii) fulfil higher level needs including self-esteem, self-activation and self-transcendence (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006)²⁴ by contributing to one's empowerment and individuation (Grenier, 2006). By participating in particular, commonly preferred activities the community members may simultaneously (re-)establish their autonomous self, (holistic) personality. The personal transformation serves as a robust source of intrinsic motivation to participate and contribute, although one may remain partly or fully unaware of this aspect. The analysis of broader transformational impacts of communities and their dynamism requires adequate definition of civil society and societal transformation as related phenomena under investigation. These are topics of the next section.

Civil society organizations

Civil society and related phenomena - such as self-organizing, transformation, horizontalization, local-global dynamism, and self-empowerment - are significantly under-researched (Salamon et al., 2003; Anheier, 2004; Taylor, 2010) as the review of literature indicates. Long-lasting and extended debates did not result in definitions with consensual support or at least with a convincing majority. Civil society²⁵ is seen as the “societal sector”²⁶ that serves as a domain of self-organizing cooperation aiming at life quality improvements. The study recalls that civil society and its organizations “...embody two seemingly contradictory impulses: first, a commitment to freedom and personal initiative, to the idea that people have the right to act on their own authority to improve the quality of their own lives or the lives of persons they care about²⁷; and second, an emphasis on solidarity, on the idea that people have responsibilities not only to themselves but also to the communities of which they

²³Their motivation is related to and is generated by (individual and collective) flow experience in co-creative efforts. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) describes flow as mental state of operation, full immersion, characterized by feeling of energized focus, full involvement, and interest in success of activity. The interviewees explained their mental state during - co-creative - efforts with the metaphor of “flow”, a current carrying them along.

²⁴ Maslow (1943) elaborated a “linear” motivation theory that indicates five subsequent levels of the human needs (or motivators), which must be satisfied in a sequencing order starting from the lowest level. The basic material or psychological needs serve survival (to stay alive and reproduce) and security (shelter and safe conditions). These are followed by social needs (love and belonging) and self-esteem (to feel worthy, respected, and have socially accepted status). The highest level needs are related to self-actualization (including self-fulfilment and achievement, creativity and playfulness) - and also self-transcendence (seek to further a cause beyond the self, experience a communion beyond the boundaries of the self through ‘peak experience’) as Maslow indicated in his later works (Koltko-Rivera, 2006).

²⁵ Anheier (2004) argues that civil society plays a qualitatively different role than market and the public sectors.

²⁶The market sector is the domain of Homo economicus ‘single-minded rationality’ aiming ‘maximizing utility’, i.e. optimizing profit to survive in market competition. Armen Alchian, a founder of new institutional economics spelt out this clear formulation of consequences of rational choice theory in business context. This approach increasingly re-shapes also the public sector (Cobb, 2007; Benkler, 2011), which follows the Homo politicus approach by perceiving human beings as citizens, and mostly as - potential - voters.

²⁷ I.e. civil society organizations operate in context of personal autonomy.

are a part. Uniquely among social institutions, the institutions of the nonprofit or civil society sector merge these two impulses, producing a set of private institutions serving essentially public purposes” - as pointed out by Salamon et al. (2003:1).

Civil society²⁸ is a phenomenon that in historic context emerged together with industrial society, the former being a constitutive part and driving force. It is the aggregate, the totality of diverse, self-organizing associations aiming to improve the participants’ life quality through volunteer cooperation, collaborative fulfilment of particular needs. The volunteers exercise “liberty, equality, fraternity”²⁹, the individual liberties proclaimed by the French revolution. These values served as a powerful institutional engine; a robust “transformational triad” shaping developments in the industrial era by catalysing the abolishment and overcoming feudal limitations and duties.

The industrial society emerged and operates by following dialectic contradictions between (i) liberating effects through robust gains of economic effectiveness and productivity, and (ii) altered forms and enhanced sophistication of mass estrangement (Beck, 2000, Vitányi, 2007). In a sense it is characterized by the duality of and interplay among empowering and disempowering tendencies. The historic step carried out by industrial society in terms of granting personal freedom remained based on and driven by legal, formal equality. This constellation continues to generate increasingly sophisticated forms and mechanisms of mass-estrangement and factual in-equality (Vitányi, 2007; Milanovic, 2010; Piketty, 2014) since in social division of labour the wage work with alienating ‘externalities’ continues to play focal role.

The civil society’s emergence became possible due to the robust increase of social productivity in industrial society. This enabled (i) improving fulfilment of (broadening range³⁰ of) needs³¹, and (ii) decreasing time spent with wage work³² as long-term trends. These interlinked tendencies aggregated into emergence of “abundance” societies of modernity (Giddens, 1984, 1990, 1991). They enable association-prone institutional and

²⁸ Table N 13 (in the Appendices II) offers an overview of changing perception of (the notion of) civil society.

²⁹ Solidarity replaced fraternity in many languages and societies, as the former is associated exclusively to men.

³⁰ Neither fulfilment of fundamental need was complete, nor did the declination of time spent for wage work create a permanent and geographically coherent pattern.

³¹ Unsettled fundamental needs relate to dominant patterns of distribution, not to “lack of” production (capacity).

³² Due to “jobless growth” decreasing part of population has wage work for decreasing payment (OECD, 2012).

growingly cooperative relational trends and changes. Volunteer collaboration turns into truly “mass scale” phenomenon and civil society becomes major social macro-sector by capitalizing on these tendencies. Nevertheless, civil society has remained seen mostly as “third” or tertiary; i.e. dependent on market and public sectors (Anheier, 2004; Rifkin, 2011).

Civil society serves as a domain to socialise, to carry out “deep play” (Rifkin, 2011)³³ through voluntary, truly multi-coloured collaborative efforts. The organizations of civil society may embrace and tackle nearly all and any kind of activity from philately till sky diving, from gardening till Oriental martial arts. In fact the individuals volunteer to participate for the sake of participation. They wish to belong, to make a difference, to share “team spirit”, and to enjoy collaborative relational dynamism. Participation creates opportunity and potential to fulfil the participants’ higher level needs including self-fulfilment, self-activation and self-transcendence (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006). Voluntary contributions to cooperative efforts simultaneously enable to establish and develop self-identity, to co-create the participants’ autonomous self and holistic personality. In other words, the most significant - although frequently remaining tacit - outcome of civil society organizations is the members’ empowering individuation (Grenier, 2006)³⁴.

In mass-societies of (post-) industrial information era, diverse organizational and social roles and rules of daily life generate many, often conflicting expectations aggregating into estranging pressures. However, the participation in voluntary cooperation irrespective of their formal primary tasks allows following and developing one’s personal traits; i.e. civil society organizations also may serve as shelter against mass estrangement pressures. This context makes empowering individuation the most important outcome or ‘product’ of civil society organizations.

³³ “I use the term deep play because what I'm talking about is not frivolous entertainment but, rather, empathic engagement with one's fellow human beings. Deep play is the way we experience the other, transcend ourselves, and connect to broader, ever more inclusive communities of life in our common search for universality. The third sector is where we participate, even on the simplest of levels, in the most important journey of life - the exploration of the meaning of our existence”(Rifkin, 2011:268).

³⁴ “...There is an important distinction between...- what could be called selfish individualism - and what is sometimes referred to as individuation ...Beck and Giddens...argue. Individuation is the freeing up of people from their traditional roles and deference to hierarchical authority, and their growing capacity to draw on wider pools of information and expertise and actively chose what sort of life they lead. Individuation is...as Beck points out... about the politicization of day-to-day life; the hard choices people face ...in crafting personal identities and choosing how to relate to issues such as race, gender, the environment, local culture, and diversity” (Grenier, 2006:124-125).

The volunteer co-operators' mutually self-empowering individuation interplays with their ability to generate social change; i.e. their enhanced capability for social agency. The capacity for agency may feedback with increasing awareness and recognition of being a 'person in community' (Whitehead, 1929; Cobb, 2007; Nonaka et al, 2008); i.e. one's belonging to the global human community. The volunteer collaborators self-communication (Castells, 2009)³⁵ facilitates such deep, association-prone institutional transformations and growing awareness about them. That is, they may catalyse the interactions' increasing reflectivity, reflexivity, and growing knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984). Self-communication generates and amplifies in civil society organizations collective intents, beliefs, preferences, identity and self-perception, the capability to detect potential risks, needs, and resources (Salamon, 2003; Anheier, 2004; Rifkin, 2011). Due to this constellation volunteers often also demonstrate enhanced social consciousness, increased openness toward broader social phenomena and tendencies that may not belong to the formal focus of their primary activity. This constellation is generative of strengthening collaborative relational dynamism and qualitative upgrading of cooperation, and catalyses personal individuation and the ability to carry out social agency.

Civil society operates as a major, in fact the ultimate, source of social capital. The "...social capital is ...informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals... [These norms] must be instantiated in an actual human relationship" - points out Fukuyama (1999). Self-organizing civil society is enabled by and also generates social capital and both operate as crucial ingredients of modern societies. "An abundant stock of social capital is presumably what produces a dense civil society, which in turn has been almost universally seen as a necessary condition for modern liberal democracy (in Ernest Gellner's phrase, "no civil society, no democracy"). If a democracy is in fact liberal, it maintains a protected sphere of individual liberty where the state is constrained from interfering. If such a political system is not to degenerate into anarchy, the society that subsists in that protected sphere must be capable of organizing itself. Civil society serves to balance the power of the state and to protect individuals from the state's power"(Fukuyama, 1999).

³⁵ The "...mass self-communication...multiplies and diversifies the entry points in the communication process. This gives rise to unprecedented autonomy for communicative subjects to communicate at large. Yet, this potential for autonomy is shaped, controlled, and curtailed by the growing concentration and interlocking of corporate media and network operators around the world. Global multimedia business networks (including government-owned media)...integrate the networks..., platforms...and channels of communication in their multilayered organizations, while setting up switches of connection to the networks of capital, politics, and cultural production..."(Castells, 2009:135).

The thesis recalls that the literature points out the importance of civil society organizations as:

- (i) key source of social capital³⁶ enabling smooth functioning of market economy and representative democracies (Fukuyama, 1999; Salamon et al. 2003; Rifkin, 2011; Reichel, 2012);
- (ii) growingly powerful actors shaping public opinion by functioning simultaneously as communication channels and amplifiers, capable to give voice to individual and collective opinions and efforts; (Hirschman, 1970; Naidoo and Tandon, 1999; Castells, 2009);
- (iii) tools facilitating to improve life quality through empowering individual and collective efforts (Morris, 1979; Saxon-Harrold and Carter, 1987; Hazell and Whybrew, 1993);
- (iv) channels to participate in political and socio-economic (change) processes (Anheier, 2004);
- (v.) domains of volunteer collaboration facilitating to overcome mass-estrangement pressures and tendencies (Rifkin, 2011; Reichel, 2012; Farrell and Shalizi, 2012); and
- (vi) a growingly important economic player, creating an increasing volume and share of value, income, and employment (Anheier, 2004; Stillman, 2006; Rifkin, 2011; Mook et al., 2015).

Actually, as Stillman (2006:59) recalls, “...one of the complexities of researching and discussing the activities of non-profits...is definitional. The research by DiMaggio and Anheier, while focussed on non-profits in the USA, speaks of ‘balkanised literatures on specific industries and organizational data sets with neglected measures of legal form’, replete with ideologically and culturally-loaded terminology (DiMaggio and Anheier 1990), and their research has continued to demonstrate the great complexity of researching a heterogeneous sector in the USA (DiMaggio, Weiss et al. 2002)”.

Since civil society is often depicted as “resource-less” and (completely) dependent on market and public sectors its significant and growing economic role deserves further attention. The next section discusses in details this aspect of the increasing role of civil society, including recent trends in economy in general and in labour markets in particular.

³⁶ The communities and civil society organizations “...contribute importantly to the production of “social capital,” those bonds of trust and reciprocity ...have been found to be critical preconditions for democracy and economic growth. Fears about a decline, or general insufficiency, of such trust have come to be a major preoccupation in countries throughout the world, leading to increased interest in not-for-profit organizations as a way to help remedy the deficit”- point out Salamon et al. (2003:2).

Civil society - a considerable economic force

The “third sector” is often recalled with disdain although it has become a considerable economic force and employer while gaining increased socio-cultural, media and political influence and significance. It has to tackle growingly sophisticated institutional challenges in economic context similar to “second enclosure” (Boyle, 2002; Hess and Ostrom, 2007) and attempts to decouple value creation and democratic control (Streeck, 2014).

Statistics and research frequently discuss civil society only in context of direct expenditures by perceiving it as completely resource less. In fact the global civil society being a single unit would be the seventh largest economy, ahead of Italy, Brazil, Russia, Spain, and Canada and just behind France and the UK (Salamon et al., 2003:13). The aggregate expenditures of third sector as of the late 1990s reached US \$1.3 trillion in global context, representing 5,1 per cent of combined GDP in 35 countries (Salamon et al., 2003:13). The 2010 data indicate a significant increase by achieving “\$2.2 trillion in operating expenditures”(Rifkin, 2011:266). The growing stream of civil society’s expenditure also exhibits increasing importance for market players of developed economies³⁷ especially in context of intertwined decrease in mass-employment and purchasing capability. The decline of disposable income³⁸ may become a long-term trend because the market sector generates growing inequality in income and wealth distribution (OECD, 2012; Piketty, 2014)³⁹. Civil society dynamically increases its economic role in multiple aspects including value, employment, income, demand, and purchasing capability generation. The data indicate that this is long-term global trend. Since civil society plays growing role in employment and disposable income generation, it also has enhancing importance for the market sector’s “operability”.

³⁷ “Growing employment in civil society...will provide an increasing percentage of consumer income necessary to purchase goods and services in an ever more intelligent and automated global economy”(Rifkin, 2011:268).

³⁸ In lower income deciles of population the capability for mass consumption also has a decreasing trend in OECD countries (Krugman, 2012).

³⁹ In order to boost purchasing capability and mass-consumption may have economic rationality of deliver “basic income” for citizens as growing number of local pilot projects and studies points out. The concept is not ‘totally new’ at all; in the US similar initiatives were officially launched by presidents repeatedly and were voted in legislation in second half of XX century (Alberti and Brown, 2013). Representatives of European civil society in 2013 launched a European Citizens’ Initiative on Unconditional Basic Income. The initiators claimed “...a European-wide, guaranteed, unconditional basic income” for all citizens in order to generate positive economic impetus”(European Citizens’ Initiative for an Unconditional Basic Income <http://basicincome2013.eu>). The Lisbon Treaty to increase direct democracy in the EU provides the right for 1 million citizens living at least in 7 different Member States to call upon the Commission to propose a legal act. A plebiscite about basic income based on formal initiative of Enno Schmidt, German filmmaker, took place in 2014 and in 2016 in Switzerland too.

Growing contribution to generation of income and GDP

The civil society's contribution to GDP has increased in both revenue generation and national assets in OECD countries. In the UK, the sector's contribution to GDP grew 260 per cent from 1991 to 2001 (NCVO, 2004)⁴⁰. "A 2010 economic analysis...reported that...in the United States, Canada, France, Japan, Australia, the Czech Republic, Belgium, and New Zealand⁴¹...third sector represents, on average, 5 percent of the GDP. This means that the nonprofit sector's contribution to the GDP in these countries now exceeds the GDP of utilities, including electricity, gas, and water and, incredibly, is equal to the GDP of construction (5.1 percent), and approaches the GDP of banks, insurance companies, and financial services (5.6 percent). The nonprofit sector is also closing in on the GDP contribution from transport, storage, and communications, which averages 7 percent..."- as Rifkin (2011:266-267) recalls.

Increasing share of the revenues that civil society generates come through fees for services and products. They "...account for approximately 50 percent of the aggregate revenue in the third sector in ...countries surveyed, while government support makes up 36 percent...and private philanthropy constitutes only 14 percent of the revenue"(Rifkin, 2011:267). In the US the commercial "...revenues of nonprofits are significant and growing. Program service revenue (fee-for-service, including college tuitions), net income from the sale of goods, net income from special events and activities, and membership dues all added together accounted for 48.1 percent of nonprofit revenues in 1982 and 57.6 percent in 2002 (Kerlinand Pollak, 2011)"(Mook et al., 2015:5).

In the "...United States ... nearly 30,000 organizations operating as cooperatives (including credit unions but not including housing cooperatives), which amounts to about \$515 billion in revenues, over 856,000 million jobs⁴² (sic), and more than \$25 billion in wages and benefits. Americans hold 350 million memberships in cooperatives of all sorts, including mutual insurers (Deller, Hoyt, Hueth, and Sundaram-Stukel, 2009)"(Mook et al., 2015:5)⁴³. In the US the not-for-profit sector's "...total combined assets...are now more than USD 500 billion...equal nearly half those of the federal government. ...Although the third sector is half of the size of government in total employment and half of its size in total earnings, in recent

⁴⁰ Quoted by Drayton (2006:47)

⁴¹ The processing of the data was completed about these countries in 2010.

⁴² Figure in the original (sic!).

⁴³ The non-profits represent 7 per cent of GDP (www.blendedvalue.org) quoted by Emerson (2006:394).

years it has been growing twice as fast as both the government and private sectors. ...[the employment it provides measured in] hours represent the equivalent economic contribution of 9 million full-time employees, and if measured in dollar terms, would be worth of USD 176 billion"(Rifkin, 2004:240-242).

Civil society and its organizations play an active and growing role in catalysing - especially open - innovation that has become a major source of growing economic productivity. The third sector by implementing the management and organizational innovations usual for the corporate and public sectors "...have been rapidly closing the productivity gap over the last twenty-five years. Ashoka⁴⁴ estimates that the citizen sector is halving the gap every ten to twelve years in the countries and regions where it is large and competitive... With every such acceleration in its productivity catch-up, the citizen sector attracts a larger share of society's resources..." points out Drayton (2006:46-47) underlining an important new trend, the growth of the share of civil society in the collective, societal resource base.

Significant and increasing role in employment creation

The share of civil society in employment and particularly in the creation of new jobs is significant and exhibits rapidly growing tendency. The first global survey on civil society in 2003 indicates that civil society employed 4,4 per cent of economically active population with a total workforce equivalent to 39,5 million full-time workers (Salamon et al., 2003:13). Its growing share in labour market is reflected clearly by the 2010 data⁴⁵ indicating that the "...nonprofits employ nearly 56 million full-time equivalent workers or an average of 5.6 percent of the economically active populations in 42 counties surveyed"(Rifkin, 2011:267). In OECD countries "...the non-profit sector accounts for about 6 percent of total employment ...or nearly 10 per cent with volunteer work factored in (Salamon et al, 1999). ...In the last decade, the most developed market economies in Europe, North America and Asia-Pacific have seen a general increase in economic importance of non-profit organizations as providers of health, social, educational and cultural services"(Anheier, 2004:3).

⁴⁴ „Ashoka is the largest network of social entrepreneurs worldwide, with nearly 3,000 Ashoka Fellows in 70 countries putting their system changing ideas into practice on a global scale. Founded by Bill Drayton in 1980, Ashoka has provided start-up financing, professional support services, and connections to a global network across the business and social sectors, and a platform for people dedicated to changing the world. Ashoka launched the field of social entrepreneurship and has activated multi-sector partners across the world..." (<https://www.ashoka.org/about>).

⁴⁵The data from 2010 are offered by the continuation of decade long program of the Johns Hopkins University. Its first summary from 2003 was prepared by Salamon et al. (2003).

In "...the year 2009, nonprofit organizations accounted for 9 percent of all wages and salaries paid in the United States and represented 5.4 percent of the gross domestic product"(Mook et al., 2015:5). "More people are employed in third-sector organizations than work in the construction, electronics, transportation, or textile and apparel industries"(Rifkin, 2004:240-242). "According to the Corporation for National & Community Service (a federal agency), 62.8 million adults volunteered almost 8.1 billion hours in local and national organizations in 2010. This contribution is the equivalent of almost 4 million full-time jobs and valued at \$173 billion"(Mook et al., 2015:5).

Summarizing trends in Australian non-profit economic activity, Stillman (2006:59) states, "...the relative size of the sector is similar to that of the USA and larger than that in the UK and many other European Countries ...Non-profit or community services organisations are also a significant sector in the economy...deriving at least 30% of their income from government overall, though many organisations are almost entirely dependent on government support. ...6.4% of the...population (over 600,000 people) work in the [civil] sector. They contributed \$21 billion, or 3.3% of the country's Gross Domestic Product in 1999-2000, rising to \$30 billion or 4.7% of GDP when free services are included. The contribution of volunteers is estimated to come to 704.1 million hours of voluntary work⁴⁶".

The dynamics of civil society in employment generation increases more quickly in comparison to other sectors, as statistics indicate. Drayton (2006:47) points out that in Germany "...the full-time equivalent employment from 1960 to 2000 shrank 2 per cent in business, roughly doubled from 1960 to 1990 then stalled in government, while it almost quadrupled in the citizen sector...". The "...third sector is the fastest growing employment sector in many parts of the world. ...The growth in the nonprofit sector is highest in Europe, which now even exceeds the United States⁴⁷. ...In France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK, the nonprofit sector accounted for 40 percent of total employment growth - or 3.8 million jobs between 1990 and 2000"(Rifkin, 2011:267).

⁴⁶ "Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001b; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001a; Philanthropy Australia 2003"

⁴⁷ "An impressive 15.9 percent of the paid employment in the Netherlands is now in the nonprofit sector. In Belgium, 13.1 percent of all workers are in the nonprofit field, while in the United Kingdom it is 11 percent, in Ireland 10.9 percent, and in France 9 percent of total employment. In the United States, 9.2 percent of the employment is in the not-for-profit sector, and in Canada, it is 12.3 percent"(Rifkin, 2011:267).

Second economy and civil work

Civil society's role and weight in generating and maintaining employment persistently increases while 'traditional' jobs and wage work continue to shrink and even disappear due to technology push driven trends. "The civil society is likely to become as significant a source of employment as the market sector by mid-century, for the simple reason that creating social capital relies on human interactivity, whereas creating market capital increasingly relies on intelligent technology" - points out Rifkin (2011:268)⁴⁸.

Economic development is gaining a growingly knowledge-driven character and the emergence of a new, digital "second economy" (Arthur, 2011; Cicero, 2012) is rapidly taking over mass production, especially standardized, repetitive forms of wage work. As a consequence "...another economy - a second economy - of all ...digitized business processes conversing, executing, and triggering further actions is silently forming alongside the physical economy ...[P]rocesses in the physical economy are being entered into the digital economy, where they are "speaking to" other processes ...in a constant conversation among ...multiple semi-intelligent nodes...eventually connecting back with processes and humans in the physical economy"(Arthur, 2011:3). In other words, technology development reshapes the economy at systemic or macro level instead of 'simply' replacing individuals with robots, automates, computers, and their integrated production complexes⁴⁹. These systemic transformations take over wage work systematically and eliminate it "smoothly" by liquidating "traditional" jobs, professions, firms, economic units, broad clusters and even entire (sub-) sectors of economy. The "volume" of wage work "consumed" in mass production of goods and services shrinks with accelerating pace primarily in connection to fulfilment of basic needs (Maslow, 1943).

These trends generate inherent contradiction because, as Arthur (2011:6-7) points out, while the "...second economy will certainly be the engine of growth and the provider of prosperity

⁴⁸ "...There are four areas where people can engage in work: the market, the government, the informal economy, and the civil society. Market employment, however, is going to continue to shrink with the introduction of intelligent technology systems. Governments around the world are also culling their workforces and introducing intelligent technology in areas as diverse as tax collection and military service. The informal economy, which includes household production, barter, and at the extreme end, black-market and criminal economic activity, is also likely to diminish as traditional economies transition into high-tech societies. ...This leaves us with the civil society as a means of employment ...In a sense, rethinking work this time around is more akin to the great upheaval that ensued when millions of serfs were released from their indenture in a feudal system and forced to become free agents and wage earners in a market economy"(Rifkin, 2011:265-266).

⁴⁹ The "second economy" remains fully or partly 'invisible' and is instantiated into globally networked systems.

for the rest of this century and beyond ...it may not provide jobs, so there may be prosperity without full access for many. ...the main challenge of the economy is shifting from *producing* prosperity to *distributing* prosperity. The second economy will produce wealth no matter what we do; distributing that wealth has become the main problem. For centuries, wealth has traditionally been apportioned...through jobs, and jobs have always been forthcoming. ...With this digital transformation, this last repository of jobs is shrinking. ...Perhaps the very idea of a job and of being productive will change over the next two or three decades. ...if we do solve it we may at last have the freedom to invest our energies in creative acts [*italics in original*]”.

The extension and upgrading of the second economy decrease the need for wage work and ‘liberate time’ for participation in voluntary, passionate and sharing co-creation taking place in civil society organizations. In other words, the association-prone pattern of emerging second economy may enable a new civil economy that “...is about how people live in communities”(Bruyn 2000:235). Civil Economics⁵⁰ focusing on cooperation in institutional context follows the non-zero sum approach, while in anthropologic dimension is driven by the perception “Homo homini amicus est”. This is a significant shift in comparison to political economy driven by the institutional dominance of zero-sum paradigm and focusing on growing competition that ultimately generates the “Homo lupini lupus” approach.

The two Economics relate to ethics differently. In civil economy they are indivisible, while the political economy sees ethics as a separate, independent issue. Due to these divergences the civil economy focuses on and discusses *common good* perceived as the product of multiplication of individual wellbeing. In other words, one’s win generates a win-win outcome, while one’s loss becomes loss for all. Due to reduction of a single component, other participants will also lose. Moreover, if one component becomes zero the end result will be also zero. By contrast, the political economy focuses on total good seen as the sum of individual wellbeing, where individual changes have relatively small collective impacts.

Civil Economics also points at the (growing) non-linearity between wellbeing, happiness, and income growth over a certain threshold; i.e. the civil economy considers the consequences of the “happiness paradox”. It recognises the importance of common efforts aiming to strengthen

⁵⁰ Civil economics historically preceded political economics. The “Chair of civil economics” was established in 1753 in Naples University more than two decades before the publication of Smith’s “Wealth of Nations” (1776), seen as the origin of political economics.

collective bonds and emotions that one-sided individualism decomposed. This approach addresses the negative consequences of interplay among the growing income and wealth gap (Milanovic, 2010; Piketty, 2014), the increasing destructive effects of environmental problems, and the unsustainable character of the global development.

It goes without saying that the civil and the political Economics perceive growing challenges created by technology-push and jobless growth differently. They also have divergent views on the potential role of civil society in finding effective solution(s) for challenges generated by the emergence of second economy. The civil economy gives preference to social value and to wealth in human relations⁵¹ by following the logic of social - instead of economic - capital accumulation. This switch allows and presupposes the institutional dual primacy of non-zero sum approach and interdependence. That shift generates enhanced cooperation that aims to multiply and share resources by replacing the competition to dominate and own them: i.e. this approach enables to mobilize sharable and multipliable resources, which often are non-monetizable.

As part of related, frequently robust institutional changes, the Economics has to overcome the self-perception of being the science of alternative disposal of, per definition, scarce resources (Robbins, 1932). In other words, it should abandon the approach that explicitly "...rejected, the conception of Economics as the study of the causes of material welfare"(Robbins, 1932:16-17). The perceived resource scarcity was presented in social sciences as a "fundamental or natural law" since Economics was gradually "erected into the queen of all sciences"(Cobb, 2007). This approach is intertwined with the institutional dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view focusing on monetizable resources and generating dominance-seeking by turning resource scarcity into self-fulfilling prophecy in multiple ways.

The emerging pattern of civil work - i.e. of voluntary, passionate and sharing co-creation generating primarily social value and wealth - may alter and growingly replace the wage work and job focused perception of work. This trend may offer a viable and functional alternative enabling to avoid jobless growth and subsequent accumulation of economic, social, political and ideological tensions, conflicts and confrontations. These changes facilitate to reshape and

⁵¹ The important distinction between relational and material wealth offers in the *Grundrisse Marx* (1858, 1993).

transform the current path - rather dominant pattern of path dependence - characterised by technology push driven “jobless growth” (OECD, 2012)⁵².

The civil work related constellation facilitates a cooperation-seeking attitude and allows an upgrading that elevates collaboration to a new, qualitatively higher level. The study assumes that the inclusive and un-fragmented nature of cooperation may interplay with emergence of its innovative and growingly sophisticated large-scale patterns. These may serve as the “core vector” (Benkler, 2011) of broader association-prone tendencies and transformational dynamism. The large-scale patterns of collaboration may contribute to social innovations enhancing the capability of civil society to utilize, and ‘absorb’ time and resources liberated from wage work due to emergence of second economy. Civil society may enhance the effectiveness of resourcing, and improve life quality since it focuses on creation of associational rather than competitive advantage. As domain of passionate and sharing co-creation through altered work, it also may facilitate the emergence of a new, non-wage-work-driven social division of labour.

The challenge for civil society in general and the civil economy in particular is to offer practical alternatives; they should demonstrate their capability enhancing the effectiveness of resource enactment and extending and upgrading the collective resource base. The civil economy and Economics may gain new momentum (Zamagni, 2014) and offer ways to reshape the emergence of second economy (Arthur, 2011) by catalysing its association-prone patterns. This shift may allow abandoning the collision course connected with the technology-push driven pattern of second economy. Such potential switch in pattern and trajectory of emergence presupposes and catalyses broad cooperation among self-empowering civil society and market and public sector players. A cooperative dynamism could enable to smoothly transpose growing volume of resources to the civil economy and “...to keep pace with the increasing burden ...placed on the social economy”(Rifkin, 2004:292).

Reinterpret the interplay between business and society

The stability and operability of both market and public sectors require social capital, which is generated by and within the third sector; i.e. civil society (Fukuyama, 1999; Anheier, 2004). However, Rifkin (2011:266) points out, if “...markets or governments destroy the social trust vested in them, people will eventually withdraw their support or force a reorganization of the

⁵² Even the (level of) growth may be replaced with “secular stagnation” as Summers (2016) argues.

other two sectors”. The prolonged crisis starting in 2008 spread from finance to other dimensions of the economy by affecting more forcefully also social, institutional and political aspects (Inotai, 2008; Spence, 2016). Nevertheless, market and public sector players show little interest and readiness to change global tendencies generating growing inequalities and tensions (OECD, 2012, 2016; Piketty, 2014).

Strategists of the market sector indicate an increasing and urgent necessity to tackle systemic-level challenges emerging with growing force from the public. As Barton (2011)⁵³ expounds: “For business leaders...the most consequential outcome of the crisis is the challenge to capitalism itself... the crisis and the surge in public antagonism it unleashed have exacerbated the friction between business and society. On top of anxiety about persistent problems such as rising income inequality, we now confront understandable anger over high unemployment, spiralling budget deficits, and a host of other issues. Governments feel pressure to reach ever deeper inside businesses to exert control and prevent another system-shattering event. ...None of these ideas or the specific proposals ...are new. What is new is the urgency of the challenge. Business leaders today face a choice: We can reform capitalism, or we can let capitalism be reformed for us, through political measures and the pressures of an angry public.” Barton (2011) emphasizes by recalling Adam Smith that the business should accept in practice the primacy of public interest and reform existing capitalism by overcoming the “tyranny of short-termism” even at the price of sacrificing their “own private interest”.

OECD general secretary (Gurria, 2013) indicates the necessity of robust institutional changes allowing putting “people first”. “...We need to foster a new type of growth, one that is more inclusive ...We also need to rethink growth as a means and not as an end. We have to give priority to the quality of growth over the quantity of growth. For this we need new models and tools to measure progress and the quality of our lives. This new concept of growth also has to respect the environment and recognise that ‘we have to move from a growth without limits to a growth within limits paradigm’...”. Current trends indicate growing necessity to reinterpret value creation and give preference to social - compared to economic - value and capital.

These important developments in institutional dimension create changing tasks for and catalyse the growing economic - rather socio-economic - role of the civil society. These

⁵³ Dominic Barton, the McKinsey & Company’s global managing director summarised the views of his “fellow managers” in his article published in Harvard Business Review in March 2011.

tendencies are constitutive of the self-empowerment of civil society. They follow a more bottom-up and local-global dynamism allowing *sharing* - both production and distribution - of *prosperity*. To follow the logic of social capital accumulation⁵⁴ enables to mobilize also non-monetizable resources and transform work into passionate and sharing co-creation, i.e. by going beyond wage work as its key or 'sole' variant.

The global (re-) emergence and self-empowerment of civil society capitalises on and catalyses the extension and upgrading of the collective resource base at societal level. The changes in resourcing are intertwined with alterations in perceiving and (ways of) creating value and wealth. The "...third sector is a commons ...where people share their talents and lives with one another for the sheer joy of social connectivity. ...Unlike the market, where relationships between people are predominantly instrumental and a means to an end - optimizing each person's material self-interest - in third sector, the relationships are an end in themselves, and are therefore imbued with intrinsic value rather than mere utility value. ...And like the Internet, the core assumption in civil society is that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members"(Rifkin, 2011:268).

Civil society should enhance its role⁵⁵ as a function system of society (Reichel, 2012) that "...is the provision of stability for joint collective action ...for the common good and social coherence ...to solve those [wicked] problems that are not solved by any other part of society"(Reichel, 2012:58-60). Civil society may act as a contemporary "third estate" and play a similar role in emergence of networked knowledge societies of the collaborative era, much as merchant capital did at dawn of industrial society⁵⁶.

Will be the post-industrial society a collaborative civil society?

Civil society has "...long been the lost continent on the social landscape of our world" (Salamon et al., 2003:3). "Even the emergence or re-emergence of civil society as a major political phenomenon in many parts of the world went largely unnoticed"⁵⁷. Although its

⁵⁴ The logic of social capital accumulation focuses on co-creation of associational advantage and capitalizes on growing presence and primacy of association-prone institutional-relational tendencies.

⁵⁵ [Civil society is] "...a function system that is not in the "in between" of everything, as so many definitions claim, but that has a clear locus in society with a clear and necessary function..."(Reichel, 2012:58-60).

⁵⁶ This important similarity was indicated by Professor Risto Tainio, the supervisor of this study.

⁵⁷ "In retrospect, such a short-sighted approach had disastrous consequences, of which the inability of the social sciences to predict and understand the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe is just one of many

decade's long theoretical mishandling (Anheier, 2004:8)⁵⁸ caused disastrous consequences⁵⁹ the civil society still "...is often referred to as the 'third sector', to suggest that it is of less importance than either the market or government"(Rifkin, 2011:266). As Anheier (2004:1) indicates, a "...great extent, and irrespective of its present currency, civil society remains 'uncharted territory' in a world long dominated by a false bipolar view of market versus state"⁶⁰.

"Up until today, civil society is either viewed as a nebulous third sector between or beyond anything else or as a troublemaker endangering the operations of the rest of society. The view on civil society as system makes it clear that it has its own function for the rest of society that no other part can take"(Reichel, 2012:69-70)⁶¹. Civil society transforms into a unique function(al) system of society by becoming "guardian of the value of values" - points out (Reichel, 2012). Facts and trends indicate convincingly that the civil society may exhibit genuine potential to solve also wicked challenges. It may operate as major source of association-prone institutional-relational changes transforming perceptions and visions and enabling (self-) empowerment of both individuals and civil society as a whole.

examples. One of the most important events of the 20th century escaped the attention of mainstream social science until after the fact! ...One could probably think of other similar major social and political events - from South Africa to Yugoslavia, and from the anti-globalization protests that first coalesced in Seattle at the 1998 meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to the formation of resistance movements against large-scale dam projects in India and other developing countries. The emergence of a pro-terrorist movement industry in part of the Middle East and South Asia is as much a failure of local civil society to develop, as it is the long-term result of misguided international diplomacy. These events - the collapse of state socialism, the rise of micro-nationalisms, and the surge in global terrorism epitomized by the tragedy of 11 September 2001 - unfolded outside the attention of social science reporting. The social sciences - to paraphrase a critique Dahrendorf (1959) expressed long ago - are left with too many events of immense historical importance that remain unexplained, and with too many developments that proceed unnoticed and uncharted"(Anheier, 2004:8).

⁵⁸ The lack of broader academic interest toward civil society interplayed with the fact that until recently neither national nor international statistics has offered reliable and sufficient data about civil society as a whole and about its organizations. "The research by DiMaggio and Anheier, while focussed on non-profits in the USA, speaks of 'balkanised literatures on specific industries and organizational data sets with neglected measures of legal form'..." - recalls Stillman (2006:59).

⁵⁹ The broader consequences of the "Arab spring" or the developments on the Maidan in Ukraine exemplify the powerful and contradictory change generating capability of the civil society.

⁶⁰ "Some historians remind us that the term civil society had been in vogue during the 18th and 19th centuries; but it had long since fallen into disuse by the early 20th century. Civil society, it seemed, was a term of interest primarily to those studying the history of ideas rather than those interested in contemporary societies. Not surprisingly, civil society was pushed to the sidelines and, ultimately, became a very abstract notion, relegated to the confines of sociological theorizing, not fitting the two-sector worldview that has dominated the social sciences for over 50 years. Civil society was simply not 'on the agenda'..."(Anheier, 2004:8).

⁶¹ "The emergence of modernity from 1500 onward broke up the stratified structure and different function systems developed with their own specific logic, modes of operation and organizations. In order to provide their function for the rest of society, they evolved into ever more independent parts with strict boundaries between them"(Reichel, 2012:58).

A major responsibility of civil society is to overcome the lack or “blurredness” of vision, which frequently is the biggest (and often unrecognized) obstacle of acting (100-20-64-21)⁶². Self-communication enables civil society players to enact communication power (Castells, 2009) in order to accelerate institutional, relational and structural (even structurational) changes. Generating awareness about such alterations simultaneously may also facilitate to amplify them. The current global spread of social networks and web2.0 related phenomena facilitate to “...connect...the intelligence of people, rather than trying to substitute for them by putting intelligence in machines”(Burgelman and Osimo, 2007). The emergence of web2.0 or “social web” enhances networking and collaboration, generates the growing significance and effectiveness of relational and institutional aspects - capable contribute to communicative and collaborative self-empowerment of civil society. The broadening networking may enable cooperation among participants of large commons (Rifkin, 2011) with truly ‘global reach’.

The virtual “almighty” of market and public sectors simultaneously presupposes and reinforces the institutional “primacy” of commodifying capital accumulation logic (Sewell, 1992). The current, “prolonged” global financial and economic crisis generates an explosive mixture of social intolerance and political extremism and threatens to transform into a social-cultural and political-ideological crisis (Inotai, 2008, Spence 2016). This destructive course is strengthened by systematic decomposition of welfare states, a shrinking and disintegration of middle classes, and a continuous decline of purchasing capability. The emphasis on lack of alternatives may prove to be dangerous tactics by confirming the claims of extremists offering populist criticism. The absence of realistic and viable alternatives may shake the acceptance of the dominant socio-economic setting primarily among the young generations (Barton, 2011; Juncker, 2011, 2012; Gurria, 2013) by challenging its very fundament.

The current controversial tendencies generate growing challenges and at the same time may offer chances to overcome them. In order to live up to its potential, the civil society has to catalyse new, association-prone local-global dynamism by offering sustainable solutions to mounting problems. The self-empowerment of civil society enables to demonstrate that it represents a viable third alternative. It confirms in practice: “tertium datur”, although

⁶² The emerging “...visions of future demonstrated positive effect by reaching every individual resident and becoming accepted by them... It facilitated to overcome the blurredness of options for action, which is the biggest (and frequently unrecognized) obstacle of acting. The citizens possess willingness to help and it is relatively easy to mobilize them to work for the sake of a good cause...”(100-20-64-21:12) - point out the experts analysing the developments related to the local e-Democracy development program in Aba.

currently both research and public opinion are dominated by the “two sector view” promoting the - exclusivity of the - faulty dichotomy of ‘market versus state’ (Anheier, 2004). This misleading approach arguing for the lack of option(s) denies even the existence of civil society. It disregards and hides, disguises its significant societal transformational potential by hamstringing its mobilization.

The civil society has to enact the ‘civil virtue’ (Smith, 1790) through growingly ‘knowledgeable actions’ (Giddens, 1984) to facilitate implementing in practice the larger vision about the genuine role of civil economy. It should serve as a source of common - rather than total - good in true spirit of the “liberal plan” as Smith (1759, 1776, 1790) envisaged. “Smith believes that the liberal plan...produces the greatest wealth for the nation and distributes the wealth most justly. That plan is the most materially productive because the freedom and security it affords each individual encourages the most productive use of resources...”(Evensky, 2007:13).

In this spirit a genuine sharing economy proposes to enact partly or fully unused “excess capacities” for the sake of improved life quality, i.e. to fulfil genuine human needs. “What we’re finally beginning to realize is that we are wallowing in excess capacity: There are resources at our fingertips that are already bought and paid for and are not being used to their full potential. Turbulent economic times and the knowledge of our impact on the environment are making us rethink this, and question how we can better use the resources that we already have. How can we recycle more, share more, and ultimately get a better return on our investments? If you’ve already purchased a car ...perhaps there’s an excess capacity that you can take advantage of by participating in a peer-to-peer car-sharing...”(Chase, 2012)⁶³.

The volunteer co-operators’ sharing and passionate co-creation is non-wage work, i.e. it is “nonmarket and non-proprietary”(Kreiss et al., 2010). It unfolds through various forms of self-organising mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006). The diverse variants of common based peer production may enable extended, large-scale patterns of collaboration

⁶³ “In this model, corporations and individuals work together to capitalize on their respective strengths: Companies can take advantage of economies of scale, persistent investment, and the ability to provide standardized contracts, rules, and recourse - all of which are bound up in a brand promise - and, importantly, they build a platform for participation. Individuals then take advantage of that platform to do what they do best: provide an incredible diversity of service or product offering through localization, specialization, and customization”(Chase, 2012).

that “transforms markets and human freedom” (Benkler, 2002). Due to this transformational potential the “...large-scale cooperation, such as free and open-source software or Wikipedia was not a bizarre side story of the Net, but a core vector through which the transition to a networked society and economy was happening”(Benkler, 2011:Acknowledgments). By “...heading toward the civil society...civil work may create the ‘culture of creativity’ [and] the horizontal democracy...[of] new socio-cultural movements and communities (Beck, 1992, 2000)...”(Vitányi, 2007:177). In other words, the successful transformation of work into passionate and sharing co-creation may interplay with participative democratic tendencies simultaneously generating new, non-wage work focused patterns of social division of labour.

Civil society is driven by social value and catalyses a focus-shift to social capital accumulation that enables to overcome mass-estrangement tendencies. In this regard, Reichel (2012:70) indicates: “In the ‘Next Society’ that we can observe emerging after modernity today, civil society as system can perform a paradoxical operation for this society: it can blur the boundaries within society that functional differentiation created...”. The primacy of social value and social capital accumulation logic enable and capitalize on “...replacing the deceiving cliché that the bottom line is the dollar with the essential truth that the bottom line is people”(Challen, 1998 quoted by Stillman, 2006:80). Chase elaborates (2012) on potential association-prone transformations of a sharing economy⁶⁴, stating; “...What we’re seeing now is a shift toward a more open, collaborative system. A collaborative economy is more about the use of something than the ownership of it. People contribute information and ideas in an effort to find new ways to efficiently use existing technologies as well as drive innovation. Wealth, power, and influence are distributed among diverse individuals rather than controlled by a select few... People, not corporations, are at the center of the collaborative economy. The more people participating and the more diverse their areas of expertise, the better this model will work. And because there’s so much diversity and openness, the collaborative economy is all about flexibility and experimentation, and, as a result, adaptation and evolution.”

⁶⁴ “Now a mash-up of Silicon Valley technology and Wall Street greed is driving the latest economic trend: the so-called “sharing economy.” Companies like Uber, Upwork and TaskRabbit are allegedly “liberating workers” to become “independent entrepreneurs” and “their own CEOs.” In reality, workers are hiring themselves out for ever-smaller part-time jobs (called “gigs”), with no safety net or assurances of future work, while the companies profit handsomely” - points out Hill (2016) at dangerous tendencies simultaneously deforming “sharing economy” into marketing double talk while promoting an “on-demand” service economy preferring middleman.

Pointing to civil society's robust transformational potential, Rifkin (2011:5) assumes that during "...morphing from the Industrial to the Collaborative Era ...the traditional, hierarchical organization of economic and political power will give way to lateral power organized nodally across society... If we succeed in meeting the physical needs of our species in the next half century - a big if - transcendent concerns are likely to become an ever more important driver of...human history. ...[T]he collaborative power unleashed by the merging of Internet technology and renewable energies is ...restructuring human relationships, from top to bottom to side to side...[by] freeing up much of the human race to create social capital in the not-for-profit civil society, making it the dominant sector in the second half of the century."

1.3 Research gap and Research question

The current theoretical discussion about global dynamics of civil society organizations based on empirical data indicates an ongoing "associational revolution" (Salamon et. al, 2003). Growing connectivity, phenomena similar to web2.0, vivid self-communication (Castells, 2009), and association-prone institutional and relational changes, are mutually catalytic and may facilitate the spread of networking cooperation. These tendencies may interplay with an ongoing convergence of communication technology and energy regimes and with association-prone alterations in human consciousness (Rifkin, 2011) and relational dynamics (Benkler, 2006, 2011).

The previous research depicts cooperation and its increase as a development, which is positive per se. According to this approach, cooperation should overcome and 'trump' self-interest (Benkler, 2011) in order to bring about positive alterations and ultimately open up a new era of collaboration. The perception is that lack of cooperation and the primacy of self-interest create problems and the growth of collaboration brings about linear improvements by enabling to overcome (all) concrete problems; i.e. strengthening of cooperation by overcoming self-interest brings about quasi-automatic solutions. This approach disregards and does not explain why despite often robust presence of collaboration the collisions, conflicts and confrontations are continuous and may seem dominant. In other words, previous research pays little attention to explain why cooperation has limitations and even its own "dark side" and how these could be overcome or prevented. Related issues that remain to be analysed also include questions such as: what are the mechanisms and advantages of local collaborative efforts; how may they aggregate into large-scale cooperation; why and how may civil society catalyse increasing the social relations' cooperative character and empowering effects.

The previous research does not explore the genuine nature and character of cooperation, the mechanisms of its emergence and resourcing, or the diversity of its effects. It disregards processes and their interplay carrying out accumulation and aggregation of changes taking place in and through various dimensions. While earlier studies discuss the growing role of collaboration in transformations constitutive of broader societal shifts as a general trend it does not explore either the dialectics of cooperation or its concrete interplay with civil society and its organizations. It omits to analyse how multi-dimensional change processes of ‘local’ transformations aggregate and how they interfere with alterations in particular entities, in personal and relational aspects, and in the broader environment. The previous research does not shed sufficient light on links, mechanisms of interplay between cooperation, changes taking place in various dimensions, and their effects in such key context as resourcing. I.e. it does not examine feedbacks between cooperative relational dynamism and dynamics of resourcing. It lacks to explore sources, ways and mechanisms enabling the civil society’s self-transformation from (seen as) third or tertiary and ‘resource-less’ into self-empowering and resource-full.

This thesis assumes that the communities’ transformational dynamism serves as a source of their (self-)empowering social agency and explores its character, impacts, sources and mechanisms. It analyses how changes emerge and travel over various dimensions by aggregating into larger scale transformations. The analysis of this dynamism and its transformational potential allows attempting to add into discussions about civil society and its organizations’ broader transformational outcomes.

The explored case-communities and their clusters represent broad and variegated arrays of civil society organizations. The study analyses community-related multidimensional alterations that simultaneously affect (i) individual members, (ii) their collaborative relationships, and (iii) communities as a whole. The thesis explores causes, mechanisms, effects, and their interplay in context of these changes. The study examines whether and how emerging web(s) of self-transforming communities may unleash robust creative energies. To do so it scrutinizes the communities’ networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third order (Vitányi, 2007) entities. The thesis analyses how communities, by enacting, sharing and multiplying locally available resources, may generate multidimensional change processes and catalyse transformations and empowering social agency. It enables to discuss

also the emerging community networks' interplay with broader socio-economic changes that may affect civil society, market and public sectors simultaneously.

Consequently, the study explores civil society organizations' transformational outcomes and their capability for social agency by analysing characteristics, impacts, causes and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism. In other words, the thesis analyses how communities generate interplaying changes in various dimensions and how these alterations may aggregate into broader, ultimately also societal, transformations? This question leads to discuss the interplay among change processes and dynamics in empirical, actual, and real domains (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas, 1989). The deployment of a process approach allows identifying also emerging, yet nascent trends unfolding in a future, fourth "quasi-domain". Consequently the study discusses the interplay among community-related transformations in four interlinked contexts, namely: (i) characteristics of explored case-community clusters (empirical domain); (ii) the clusters' interplaying transformational impacts (actual domain); (iii) sources and mechanisms of transformational dynamism (real domain); and (iv.) transformational outcomes of civil society organizations constitutive of a potential new, associational societal kinetics (future "quasi-domain").

The exploration of these connected domains and mutually catalytic contexts lead to analyse three underlying questions guiding the empirical inquiry. (i) How transformational impacts interplay with internal dynamics and the environment? (ii) What are the characteristic sources and mechanisms of the empowering transformational dynamism? (iii) How societal change is created by the communities' transformational dynamism; what are the sources, mechanisms and effects of their social agency?

1.4 Purpose and limitations

The thesis examines how clusters of case-communities interplay with and may facilitate feed backing changes in various dimensions. The study analyses their potential aggregation into broader transformations in context of emergence of the second digital economy (Arthur, 2011) constitutive of networked knowledge-based - rather knowledge-driven⁶⁵ - societies. The exploratory task of the study is the analysis of the case-community clusters' potential to catalyse change as empowering social agency. The thesis studies communities by seeing them

⁶⁵ The aggregation of feed backing transformations into genuine, systemic quality-shift often is recalled as the "emergence of knowledge-based society". The study assumes that it may be more appropriate to talk about knowledge-driven society due to dynamic character of both 'components' as well as their interplay.

as examples of broad and multi-coloured arrays of civil society organizations. It scrutinizes clusters of communities seen as “second degree” social entities (Vitányi, 2007) possessing innovative character, capable to identify and enact significant volume of locally available resources, and generate and unleash robust creative energies. The explored case-communities have a tendency to catalyse social change. That is, they serve as sources of social agency. More ‘passive’ entities, based on kinship or common origin⁶⁶, geographical location, social position, or faiths are not necessarily subjects of this research. For similar reasons, neither do the clusters of selected case-communities cover charity or sport, although these are often seen as typical and traditional fields of civil society activities.

The volunteer co-operators’ community-framed, mutually adaptive local interactions, produce aggregate system outcomes, “surprising, emergent behaviour” (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1393), such as continuously unfolding self-organizing. They function similarly to Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) (Holland, 1999, 2006; Kauffman, 1993; Luhmann, 1995a,b; Plowman et al., 2007a,b) due to the volunteer co-operators’ mutually adaptive relationships. The thesis explores the second degree communities’ networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third degree (Vitányi, 2007) social entities as potential source of their social agency. However, third level communities do not belong to the focus area of the study either. Third degree entities are in their early, nascent, emerging phase; therefore the explored cases do not offer sufficient data and information about (details of) their characteristics.

The thesis identifies and describes feed backing constructs of the communities’ transformational dynamism indicating also their potential to generate broader, societal changes. In this respect, the study proposes constructs and checks their ‘conceptual operability’ in order to contribute to ‘ideal-type descriptions’ (Weber, 1949) of a broad array of civil society organizations. However, such ‘ideal-type’ constructs necessarily remain partial, blurred, incomplete and ‘utopic’. They synthesize, as Weber (1949:90) points out, “...one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct (Gedankenbild). In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found empirically...in reality”. This approach enables to identify and indicate emergent and feed backing tendencies in their nascence. Consequently, the ideal-type constructs (Weber, 1949) may be used for attempts to

⁶⁶ Many of these may belong at significant degree to “first order” social entities (Vitányi, 2007).

explore emerging and yet partly or hardly recognizable trends and phenomena in their early phase of development.

The description of “ideal-type constructs” by analysing potential feed backing changes at both micro and macro levels plays significant role in creating the focus of work and affects its structure. This approach influences considerably the selection and description of empirical data, the analysis of interview texts, the perception, framing, and contextualizing of data, and the demarcation of analysed case-communities. I.e. it affects the analytic focus, the selection of research dimensions, the theoretical and conceptual tools, and the ways of picking up findings.

“No form of inquiry can be value-free and impartial; instead each model and perspective is value-full. That being the case, any given conceptual model is a partial representation of reality, reflecting the perspective and interests of the model builder. A researcher must therefore be critically reflexive, stating clearly whose point of view and interests are served in a model proposed to represent reality (Van Maanen 1995)” - as Van de Ven and Poole recall (2005:1397). However, it’s important to avoid semblance of ‘unilateralism’ or bias and give due attention also to multiple, diverse and frequently controversial developments instead of limiting attention *only* on trends and tendencies constitutive of emerging ‘ideal type’ concepts. The case-communities’ detailed description enables to duly reflect their multifaceted character, the presence and effects of divergent, controversial and even conflicting tendencies. The same logic leads to offer also an extensive glossary allowing discussing in details proposed theoretical claims, constructs, concepts, and metaphors by explaining their picking criteria and operationalization⁶⁷. It enables to offer reflections about their shortcomings, i.e. contributes to more balanced and duly critical presentation⁶⁸.

The thesis aims to open up interplaying aspects and transformational potential of community dynamism by capitalizing on process approach. This allows identifying also differences among dynamic and interconnected change patterns such as self-organization and self-organizing. The work focuses on detailed exploration of continuously unfolding self-organizing in context of transformational effects and mechanisms of civil society

⁶⁷ The glossary also enables to elaborate on and ‘open’ classical texts quoted in the work by putting them into practical context that the thesis offers.

⁶⁸ These important aspects were indicated by one pre-examiner.

organizations. The Appendices (its section IV) offers a more detailed explanation and comparison discussing self-organization as limited self-organizing.

The case-community clusters' examination also offers counter-evidences to the dominant dichotomy of "market vs. state", which depicts civil society as residual and incapable of offering an alternative. I.e. the analysis may justify that civil society organizations can be resource-full and self-empowering by enabling them to solve challenges and problems, launch new trends and dynamics. The thesis examines the communities' capability to provide locally alternative solutions to challenges, some of them seen even as wicked or non-treatable.

The analysis of the transformational dynamism and social agency may offer a step in order to weaken current dominance of views about a 'lack of option as single option'. As observed cases indicate "...visions of future ... facilitate[d] to overcome the blurredness of options for action, which is the biggest (and frequently unrecognized) obstacle of acting...for sake of a good cause..."(100-20-64-21:12). I.e. the dynamic communities may facilitate to overcome the mental state of incapability acting due to lack of alternatives. They demonstrate the civil society organizations' robust transformational potential and ability to elaborate and implement 'positive scenarios'; i.e. the explorative inquiry enables to analyse the - networking - communities' capability catalysing social agency.

The thesis carries out qualitative analysis of a sample case by scrutinizing the constructs on relatively broad range of case-communities whose clusters represent various areas of activities, sizes, and contexts by constituting multi-coloured sample-sets. The deployment of methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Pool, 2005), i.e. the combination of different research approaches allows identifying constructs characteristic of a broad variety of civil society organizations and facilitates their iterative crosschecking. Since the variability of explored (clusters of) case-communities is high, while the number of cases in particular clusters representing similar (sub-) groups is relatively low, the proposed constructs may capitalize on subsequent quantitative verification.

1.5 Units and levels of empirical analysis

The study focuses on exploration of transformational capabilities, mechanisms and outcomes of 'second order' (Vítányi 2007) case-community clusters seen as characteristic examples of a broad array of civil society organizations. The community-focus of study appeared through

cyclical iterations among (i) empirical data; (ii) emerging findings, constructs and concepts; and (iii) continuous study, recursive consultation of relevant research literature. This iteration indicated intertwined historical, ontological, and epistemological factors justifying a focus on ‘second level’ (Vitányi, 2007)⁶⁹ communities as basic units of analysis. The recursive examination of the various cases and case-communities led to selection of the Neighbourhood Association as sample-case. This umbrella organization went through multiple, fundamental - following divergent and even controversial directions - transformations and also generated significant changes and metamorphoses, including fundamental model shift in its broader environment.

The communities’ exploration may shed light on multidimensional and multilevel, feed backing transformations. Their analysis may indicate dynamic links among various changes taking place on (inter-)personal, organizational, field, macro-sectorial, and societal levels. It may point out at feedbacks among institutional, organizational, and structuration-type alterations, as well as at the interplay among growingly association-prone dynamism; continuous self-organizing; and association-prone, meso level structuration (Giddens, 1984; Stillman, 2006). The analysis of feed backing tendencies allow shedding more light on multi directional links between local networks of inter-personal relationships and large-scale patterns of society generating the ‘strength of weak ties’, as Granovetter (1973) indicates⁷⁰.

The clusters of case-communities as focal unit and level of analysis may raise questions about implementing structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) because it is frequently perceived as related to micro-macro interplay. Structuration theory provides an effective, multi-level analytical tool that enables to explore also meso level organizational developments and feed backing dynamics among various levels, as Orlikowski (1992) and Stillman (2006) emphasize. As Orlikowski (1992:423) points out... “While Giddens’ (1984) theory of structuration is posed at the level of society, his structuration processes, describing the reciprocal interaction of social actors and institutional properties, are relevant at multiple levels of analysis. The structurational model...allows us to conceive and examine the interaction...at interorganizational, organizational, group, and individual levels of analysis.

⁶⁹ The current civil society organizations are associations of volunteer co-operators, i.e. belong to what Vitányi (2007) coins as second order social entities.

⁷⁰ Following this approach the analysis of micro-level tendencies in and among explored case-communities facilitates to explore related ‘macro-level’ trends what generates a ‘structural duality’ of the study.

This overcomes the problem of levels of analysis raised by a number of commentators (Kling 1987; Leifer 1988; Markus and Robey, 1988; Rousseau 1985)".

"In addition, a meso level can also be considered, something between the level of institutional analysis and the analysis of personal and interpersonal behaviour. The meso level could be represented, for example, by community organisations...which operate at the boundaries of the personal and societal, and the macro level could represent the networked effects of such organisations at a larger social scale"(Stillman, 2006:136). The implementation of structuration theory as an analytical tool also capitalises on and presupposes to deploy process approach. The next chapter elaborates on research methods discussing details of this link.

2. Research Methods

The thesis aims at construct and concept creation deploying qualitative research methods. It carries out a realist, contextual, process-oriented, explanatory and ideographic study. It capitalizes primarily on case study-driven⁷¹ generality focused concept creation⁷² by exploring empirical data from a multi-coloured set of case-community clusters that operate in Finland and Hungary. The data are contemporary and - partly - longitudinal by nature and enable to carry out a multiple-case study approach⁷³. The time span of inquiry has been defined according to time(-space) characteristics of analysed processes constitutive of the communities' transformational effects in question. The interviews served as sources of abundant data. The interviewees were individuals participating (i) in various communities' and civil society organizations. Many of them act (ii) in public and (iii) market sector entities that facilitate and capitalize on communities' and other civil society organizations' activity.

2.1 Research methodology

The study is an explorative inquiry to the empirical world of civil society organizations with a focus on their interplay with social, socio-economic changes. The exploratory task of the study is the analysis of the civil society organizations' capability to catalyse change as empowering social agency. The thesis elaborates on constructs and concepts constitutive of a

⁷¹ Case research method allows describing holistic characteristics of complex social phenomena through analysis of real-life events (Yin, 1994:3). The explanatory case studies focus on research questions such as how or why sets of events take place over time.

⁷² This is, in a sense, a more advanced version of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

⁷³ Yin (1994) argues that single-case and multiple-case study designs remain within the same methodological framework, but later allows considering multiple experiments, which facilitate recognizing patterns in causal relations.

process model of transformational dynamism. The empirical data emerged primarily through (processing) interviews providing abundant information about cases of local-global changes related to communities of volunteer co-operators. The case study driven concept creation as primary methodological tool emerged through iteration among empirical data, literature on research and methodology, and recursive attempts of cross-case analyses. This iteration indicated the expediency to capitalise on methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Pool, 2005) by also considering process - rather than solely variance - methods. The process approach is reasonable and necessary due to focal role of exploration of organizational change unfolding through feed backing dynamics. Perceiving communities as aggregation of continuous (self-)organizing processes allows describing them as patterns of interplaying dynamics. It facilitates to study multidimensional processes with various ‘frequencies’ and the resultant dynamics emerging through their feed backing interplay; i.e. it enables to shed more light on their transformational dynamism unfolding as patterned emergence through aggregation of feed backing (self-)organizing processes.

The thesis assumes that at the focus of analysis are interplaying processes of continuous self-organizing rather than organizations perceived as an aggregate of ‘things’. In this regard, the exploration should concentrate on feedbacks among processes and dynamics, instead of durable structures consisting ultimately of ‘things’, functional mechanisms, and ways of aiming to achieve and maintain (perceived) organizational equilibrium (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005)⁷⁴.

The thesis views communities as dynamic patterns of relationships. They unfold as patterned emergence as dynamic resultants of continuous aggregation of feed backing processes taking place in various dimensions in a space-time continuum⁷⁵. The observation of events⁷⁶ provides information about intersections among particular, actually ‘valid’, process patterns constitutive of a community under investigation. By following this approach the communities can be perceived as (the process of) patterned aggregation of feed backing processes and

⁷⁴ “Tsoukas (2005) contrasts two versions of the social world: one, a world made of things in which processes represent changes in things; the other, a world of processes in which things are reifications of processes. This is the critical ontological distinction about the essential nature of organizations...”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1379).

⁷⁵ The observation and analysis are (aggregations of) processes as well. The observed processes could be discussed through their dynamic interplay rather than as sum or aggregate of “snapshots” that tries to observe the “frozen”, stabile constellation of the actual momentums of the various processes.

⁷⁶ Events appear as intersections among feed backing processes that unfold in certain time(-space) continuum.

tendencies, i.e. as dynamic resultants of interplaying patterns of processes. Certain process constellations or configurations the observers may also perceive as stability⁷⁷ despite their dynamic process nature in ontological sense. Such perceived stability can appear in an epistemological aspect due to differences of scales, timelines, speed and the diversity in contexts of observed and observational processes - as Van de Ven and Poole (2005) indicate. In other words, stability as perceived lack of movement can appear due to differences in characteristics of dynamics in dimensions where particular processes unfold and where they are observed. The differences among time-lines and speed of observed processes and observation processes are especially prone to bring about such perceived stability as an outcome in epistemological sense. I.e. differences among time-lines of experiences, events, mechanisms, and emerging tendencies unfolding in empirical, actual, real (and future) domains (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas, 1989) may create a perception of stability.

Consequently, the analysis of transformational dynamism requires exploring changing and feed backing patterns of numerous, interplaying processes that unfold in various dimensions and generate dynamic contexts. The process approach enables and requires considering also changes in contexts, i.e. the contextual variability. Kulkki (1996:90), by pointing out the importance of contextual variability, states... “Pettigrew extends the discussion of the variability of the context (1992. p.7.) by adding how variations in context and processes may explain different performance outcomes. He also claims (1985, p. 15. and pp. 26-27) that there may exist a dynamic interplay between the propositions of different levels of the context. Pettigrew (1985. p 26) discusses changes in the levels over time, which may affect the development of other levels of the context. He gives an example of the social dimension of the context, which is itself undergoing change over time”⁷⁸. Another aspect connected to the study of complex and dynamic social phenomena such as organizational change is their method-bound character - as Pettigrew (1985:15) emphasizes. The next sections discuss the diverse methodologies that the study implements by considering also their possible impacts on the analytic process.

⁷⁷ The thesis recalls in this context the explanation of Tsoukas (1989) relying on the analysis of Bhaskar (1987) about differences among experiences, events, and mechanisms (Table N 1).

⁷⁸ “From the research methodology point of view he brings about the question of how explicitly the variability of the propositions of some levels of the context may bring about variability of propositions of other levels or alternative direction of processes of change”(Kulkki, 1996:90).

The case study driven, generality focused concept creation

The thesis deploys primarily the generality-focused cross-case analysis for concept creation (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Tsoukas, 1989; Yin, 1981, 1994). This qualitative method was developed by capitalizing on grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As Gephart (2004:455) emphasizes the “important value of qualitative research is description and understanding of the actual human interactions, meanings, and processes that constitute real-life organizational settings”. “Building theory from case studies...involves using one or more cases to create theoretical constructs, propositions and/or midrange theory from case-based, empirical evidence (Eisenhardt, 1989). Case studies are rich, empirical descriptions of particular instances of a phenomenon that are typically based on a variety of data sources (Yin, 1994)” - as Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007:25) describe. “...The central notion is to use cases as the basis from which to develop theory inductively. The theory is emergent in the sense that it is situated in and developed by recognizing patterns of relationships among constructs within and across cases *and* their underlying logical arguments [italics in the original]”(Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007:25).

The study, by following indications provided by Tsoukas (1989), re-focuses on generality. I.e. the thesis follows the realist approach (Bhaskar, 1978) that enables to distinct and consider the interplay “...between (a) causal laws and empirical generalizations and (b) real structures, actual events, and experienced events”(Tsoukas, 1989:559). I.e. such “...realist perspective helps ...defining the generative mechanisms (causal powers)...and the kind of social structures that help sustain and reproduce these mechanisms ...researchers do not postulate ironclad laws, but tendencies, which may or may not manifest themselves in the empirical domain... In this vein, paradoxical phenomena are not mere exceptions in stochastic conjunctions of events, or simple refutations of law-like generalizations, but rather the *contingent link of a set of causal powers* [italics in original]”(Tsoukas, 1989:558)⁷⁹.

The consideration of interplay among causal relations and contingent feedbacks among mechanisms through which they appear enables to go beyond examination of pattern replications inside and across cases. It also allows overcoming simplifications to perceive causal relations as “causal powers”, which may appear and affect “independently” from

⁷⁹ The researcher should focus on “...the workings of real social structures and their causal capabilities, irrespective of their individual manifestations in the domain of experience” - emphasizes Tsoukas (1989:559).

interacting agents⁸⁰. The analysis should focus on causal relations that in ontological sense unfold as feedbacks among diverse processes consisting of personal interactions instead of looking for unidirectional “causal powers” in epistemological dimension.

	Empirical Domain	Actual Domain	Real Domain	Future Domain		
Tendencies				✓	*	**
Mechanisms			✓	✓		
Events		✓	✓	✓		
Experiences	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Clusters of case-communities		Sources, mechanisms, causal relationships of community dynamism				
		Transformational impacts of communities		* Tendencies contributing to social agency		
				** Constitutive processes of new, associational societal kinetics		

Table 1: Extended ontological assumptions of realist view of science based on indications of Tsoukas (1989:553)⁸¹ with reference to Bhaskar (1978:13)⁸²

This ontological context - summarised in Table N 1 - facilitates to explore causal relations as interplay of process feedbacks in the spirit of scientific realism (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas 1989)⁸³. In this vein the researcher, by analysing and interpreting experiences acquired from

⁸⁰ This change enables to exceed or “transcend” the dominance of a mechanical “impact-reaction” approach that follows a simplified, in a sense a “quasi-Newtonian” view in social sciences.

⁸¹ The proposed ‘future domain’ serves as a quasi-domain of yet unformed, nascent, rudimentary, emerging tendencies and trends - the domain of “pre-sensing”(Scharmer, 2007).

⁸² “Note; The real domain is the domain in which generative mechanisms, existing independently of but capable of producing patterns of events, reside. The actual domain is the domain in which observed events or observed patterns of events occur. The empirical domain is the domain of experienced events. Checkmarks (✓) indicate the domain of reality in which mechanisms, events, and experiences, respectively reside, as well as the domains involved for such a residence to be possible. Experiences presuppose the occurrence of events in the actual domain, independently of researchers’ taking notice of them. In turn, events presuppose the existence of mechanisms in the real domain, which have been responsible for the generation of events”(Tsoukas, 1989: 553).

⁸³ Van de Ven and Poole (2005:1397) indicate, “Baum and Rowley (2002: 20, 21) observe that: ‘Organization theorists have never been positivists ...Organization theorists of all orientations appear, instead, to practice a logic-in-use that is primarily “scientific realist”, which is the most widely accepted epistemology among current philosophers (Azevedo 1997; Suppe 1977; 1989).’ Realism is the thesis that a real world exists ‘out there’, independent of what we think, but our attempts to know it are limited and can only be known through a socially constructed language system (Zald 1995). All facts, observations, and data are theory-laden and embedded in

empirical domain, may describe real events through mechanisms unfolding in actual domain. The subsequent analysis of events as the interplay unfolding between causal tendencies and ‘concrete contingencies’ enables to explore and describe mechanisms effective in real domain. I.e. the consideration of “structure related concrete contingencies” (Tsoukas, 1989) facilitates to shed light on interplay among mechanisms, structures⁸⁴ - more precisely structuration processes - and causal relations.

This approach enables to identify explore and describe dynamic links among experienced signals or observed events (empirical domain), real event(s) (real domain), and underlying mechanisms and causal relations (actual domain). It also helps to identify and consider emergent, yet nascent new tendencies that may evolve culminating in a quasi ‘future domain’.

The switch to generality in concept creation offers practical ways and tools to accomplish “search evidence for ‘why’ behind relationships” (Eisenhardt, 1989:533). It allows comparing tendencies and events that a proposed construct forecasts with observable events and phenomena by considering the effects of ‘concrete contingencies’ (Tsoukas, 1989). In other words, it enables to increase the effectiveness of concept creation⁸⁵ and strengthen internal validity of constructs.

The thesis assumes that the case study driven and generality focused concept creation can also (i) capitalize on process analysis methods suggested by Van de Ven (1990, 1992); (ii) explore contextual interplay considering indications of Pettigrew (1979, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1997, 2001); and (iii) combine process and variance approaches (Van de Ven and

language. As a consequence, ‘All knowledge is presumptive’ (Campbell 1988: 487). ...This critical realism should be distinguished from ‘relativism’, which holds that truth-testing is problematic because the external world does not exist beyond that which is perceived and socially constructed by individuals and cultures. Relativists argue that truth is relative to a specific paradigm, and competing paradigms are considered to be incommensurable because each possesses its own language and logic (Baum and Rowley 2002:21)”.

⁸⁴ “A structure is a set of simultaneously constraining and enabling rules and resources that are implemented in human interaction. These rules shape interaction while at the same time being reproduced in this very process of interaction (Giddens, 1976, 1984; Manicas, 1980)”(Tsoukas, 1989:554). Sewell (1992) argues that rules belong to resources that interplay with cultural schemas.

⁸⁵ The organizations are structured and active “loci” where (and through which) a “contingent link of a set of causal powers” is created that can generate different experiences, observable events, phenomena - points out Tsoukas (1989). Consequently, the study should analyse the communities “causal capabilities” and the concrete ways and mechanism through which they (dis-)allow causal forces (Tsoukas, 1989) - rather causal relations - to affect. The thesis assumes that the consideration of the action-relations’ ontological characteristics in context of the interplay between self-organizing and structuration (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992) may improve construct validity and generalizability.

Poole, 2005). The following section discusses, in context of process methods, the potential advantages that such methodological pluralism may offer (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005).

Process methods of exploring changes in organizations

The thesis views communities as emerging dynamic patterns, which are resultants of aggregation of multidimensional, feed backing processes. The thesis capitalizes on what Tsoukas (2005) coins as a strong process approach⁸⁶. For “...those adhering to the ‘strong’ view, processes are thought real, whilst substances, entities, and things are secondary conceptual abstractions. According to such a perspective, movement, change, and becoming need to be construed not as secondary, but as the sine qua non of organizational life...[it may] enable ...to appreciate the sui generis nature of process” - point out Van de Ven and Poole (2005:1379).

The diverse methodological and epistemological approaches to organizational change ultimately have their “...grounding in an ontological claim. Tsoukas (2005) contrasts two versions of the social world: one, a world made of things in which processes represent change in things; the other, a world of processes in which things are reifications of processes. This is a critical ontological distinction about the essential nature of organizations, and challenges us to move past the traditional view that regards organizations as a noun, consisting of social entities and things, and to consider an alternative representation of organizing as a verb in a world of ongoing change and flux”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1379)⁸⁷. Consequently, both stability and change are - resultants of - differences in perception of interlinked processes, i.e. are epistemological rather than ontological phenomena.

With regard to the strong process view “...organizations are composed solely of organizing processes. ...an organization is simply a reification of a set of processes that maintain the organization by continuously structuring it and maintaining its boundaries in a field of other

⁸⁶ “...Chia and Langley (2004) [indicate that]: “The ‘weak’ view treats processes as important but ultimately reducible to the action of things, while the ‘strong’ view deems actions and things to be instantiations of process-complexes. The first perspective appears dominant in much of organizational and social scientific research, and tends to be pragmatic, empirically grounded, and analytical in orientation. The latter perspective has been primarily conceptual, strongly informed by strands of process philosophy. ...in organizational research, even when it is accepted that processes are critical to the understanding of organizational life, it is very tempting to reduce them to ‘things’ that can be described as variables (e.g. decision processes are more or less ‘rational’, more or less ‘political’, more or less ‘bureaucratic’), or as static states that can be compared (before and after; phase 1, 2, 3, etc.)”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1379).

⁸⁷ This long debate goes back to Democritus arguing for the atomic view and Heraclitus for the process approach. The process approach has challenged social sciences and organizational studies since the end of XIX century, however both “have been slow to embrace this alternative ontology”(Rescher, 1996).

processes that are continuously breaking down the organization and its boundaries. In this view, stability and change are explained in the same terms: stability is due to processes that maintain the organization so that it can be reified as the same thing by some observer(s), while change occurs when the processes operate in a manner that is reified by observer(s) as changing the organization. In both instances stability and change are judgments, not real things, because the organization is a process that is continuously being constituted and reconstituted (Rescher 1996)”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1380).

Variance Approach	Process Approach
Fixed entities with varying attributes	Entities participate in events and may change over time
Explanations based on necessary and sufficient causality	Explanations based on necessary causality
Explanations based on efficient causality	Explanations based on final, formal, and efficient causality
Generality depends on uniformity across contexts	Generality depends on versatility across cases
Time ordering among independent variables is immaterial	Time ordering of independent events is critical
Emphasis on immediate causation	Explanations are layered and incorporate both immediate and distal causation
Attributes have a single meaning over time	Entities, attributes, events may change in meaning over time

Source: Poole et al. (2000:36)

Table 2: Variance and Process Approach (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1382)

The process method focuses on temporal order and sequences, unlike the variance approach that observes difference over time in selected dimensions. (Table N 2 offers concise comparison between variance and process approaches.) Methodological pluralism enables to overcome a certain degree of bias and one-sidedness characteristic to both approaches, due to which they may capture and explain only limited aspects of organizational change (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005)⁸⁸. The study follows methodological pluralism. First it carries out recurrent scrutiny of case-communities, analyses alternately (feedbacks among) - dependent and independent - attributes that enable their clustering. Secondly the thesis examines

⁸⁸ Variance approaches “...explain and/or predict the occurrence and magnitude of change, or the effects of change, on other variables. ‘While the variance approach offers good explanations of continuous change driven by deterministic causation, this is a very limited way to conceptualize change and development. It overlooks many critical and interesting aspects of change processes. ...most organizational scholars have been taught ...variance methods, and because methods for narrative research are not well developed, researchers tend to conceptualize process problems in variance terms’...”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1383).

temporal sequences of events what allows construct creation by exploring dynamics among causal relations and their feedbacks with “concrete contingencies” (Tsoukas, 1989).

The process approach allows considering the causal relations’ dynamic and systemic character⁸⁹ and “...both immediate and distal causation” (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1382). An important peculiarity of the process approach is, however, that it allows “...change in meaning over time... [what requires] truly learn to think in different terms than our largely substance-based educations have prepared us for”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1390-91)⁹⁰. The process approach interplays with deployment of structuration theory as an analytical tool - what the next section discusses.

Structuration-theory as an analytical tool

The important methodological feature of structuration is that it enables to overcome rigid mechanistic approaches focusing on “...unidirectional, causal influences over humans and organizations, similar to those operating in nature (Giddens 1984, p. 207)”(Orlikowski, 1992:400). In other words, the ‘post-Newtonian’ character (Orlikowski, 1992) of the ‘structurationist programme’ that Giddens proposes has great practical importance. It enables to analyse the interplay among institutional, relational, and power dynamics, which are subject of reciprocal (rather than unidirectional) causation.

The deployment of structuration theory as an analytical tool allows analysing transformational dynamism considering the underlying process interplay. Structuration theory (Figure N 1) emphasizes the dynamic and “...essentially transformational character of all human action, even in its most utterly routinized forms”(Giddens, 1984:117). In other words, it allows

⁸⁹ “Aristotle distinguished four causes of why change occurs — material, formal, efficient, and final. Respectively, they indicate: that from which something was made (material cause); the pattern by which it is made (formal cause); that from which comes the immediate origin of movement or rest (efficient cause); and the end for which it is made (final cause) (Ross 1949; Aristotle 1941). Social science is most explicitly concerned with efficient cause, tending to downplay other sources of change. Mohr (1982) explains: ‘An efficient cause is a force that is conceived as acting on a unit of analysis (person, organization, and so on) to make it what it is in terms of the outcome variable (morale, effectiveness, and so on) or change it from what it was. It may be thought of as a *pushtype* causality’ (1982: 40). For example, organizational rewards encouraging innovative behavior, top management team support, and an entrepreneurial climate act on an individual to increase the likelihood that that person will initiate a new corporate venture. Each necessary and sufficient cause in a variance theory is assumed to function in the manner of an efficient cause. Other types of causality, such as final causality, which posits that phenomena are influenced by the ends to which they are tending, are not regarded as valid generative mechanisms. McKelvey (2004) provides a related case and discussion of the inclusion of all four Aristotelean causes in organizational research [italics in original]”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1396-1397).

⁹⁰ “Weick (1979) provides a good starting point for developing a process understanding of organizing, sense-making, and related processes” – indicate Van de Ven and Poole (2005:1391).

analysing how one's - intertwined individual and social - existence unfolds through simultaneous enactment of cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) and resources and how this interplay is patterned, shaped by power relations. "Giddens' outline of the modalities of structuration is a contribution towards an analysis of simultaneous micro and macro-level interaction in the construction of reality"(Stillman, 2006:140-141). Structuration reflects that the interacting individuals are social agents who continuously re-create themselves and their social reality by drawing on and at the same time reproducing structures. Since structuration reflects the dynamism of multidimensional interplay (Stillman, 2006) it may serve as effective tool analysing impacts, sources, and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism.

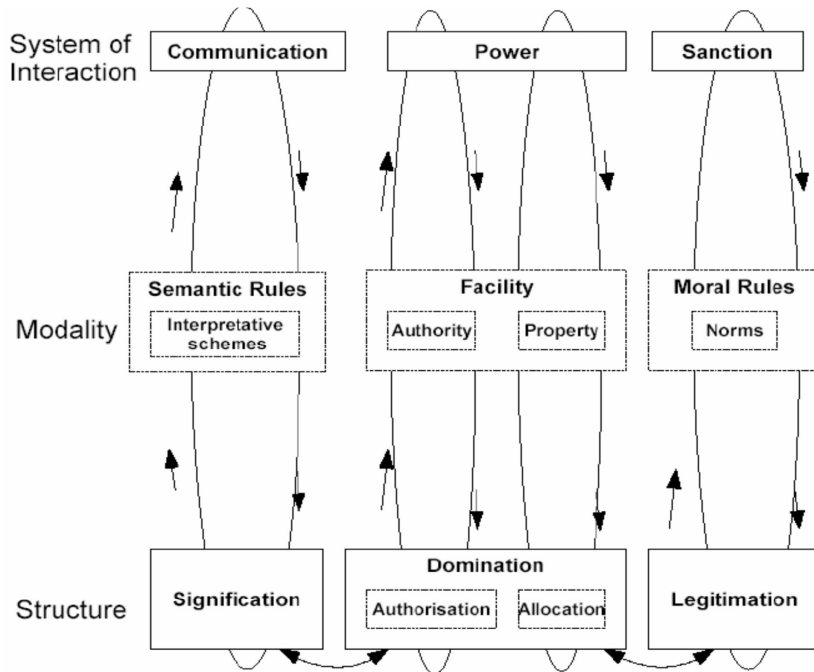


Figure 1: The dimensions of the modalities of structuration – Stillman (2006:150) derived from Gregory (1986:65)⁹¹

⁹¹ "...Gregory has reversed the order of Giddens' original figure, putting overarching structure at the bottom... and systems of interaction at the [top], but conceptually, this make no difference... The label 'Structure'... represents overall systemic characterisations of processes of social reproduction, while the top line (interaction), refers to the properties of what can be frequently regarded as micro-level co-present or personal electronic interaction. The middle row represents the means by which these are instantiated"(Stillman, 2006:150).

Structuration enables to embrace both subjective and objective dimensions of social reality while analysing organizational processes (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000): i.e. the structure - more precisely processes of structuration - and agency are mutually constitutive and both unfold through feed backing interactions among individuals. This approach facilitates effective analysis of interplay that simultaneously connects and transforms individual members, their cooperative interactions, and their communities' continuous emergence by creating the potential to affect societal processes - i.e. the capability of social agency⁹².

The "structurationist" approach allows exploring how individuals' (inter-) actions are institutionally affected and driven. It facilitates to explore how adaptation unfolds through changing degrees of mutuality in relationships among community members. The changes in structuration also facilitate to analyse how transformational dynamism connects local relational constellations and large-scale social patterns generating a "micro-macro bridge" (Granovetter, 1973)⁹³. The focus on structuration, on dynamism and change, on recursive rather than linear actions, on points of instability, and their interplay with organizational change offer effective tools to explore the capability and multidimensional practice of agency. It facilitates to analyse the interplay among numerous - including relational, emotional, psychological, and cognitive - dynamics enabling and constitutive of social agency.

To "... conceive of human beings as agents is to conceive of them as empowered by access to resources of one kind or another" - points out Sewell (1992:9). Indeed changing patterns of resource enactment constitute crucial aspect of the communities' (capability and practice of) social agency. The analysis of the community members' mutually empowering social agency capitalizes on exploring ways and changing effectiveness of resource enactment by considering also the resources' robust relational character that structuration emphasizes. The members' capability for social agency as well as their communities' continuous emergence

⁹² "Structures shape people's practices, but it is also people's practices that constitute (and reproduce) structures. In this view of things, human agency and structure, far from being opposed, in fact presuppose each other. Structures are enacted by what Giddens calls 'knowledgeable' human agents (i.e., people who know what they are doing and how to do it), and agents act by putting into practice their necessarily structured knowledge. Hence, 'structures must not be conceptualized as simply placing constraints on human agency, but as "enabling"...'(Giddens 1976, p. 161). This conception of human agents as 'knowledgeable' and 'enabled' implies that those agents are capable of putting their structurally formed capacities to work in creative or innovative ways" - argues (Sewell, 1992:4).

⁹³ Structuration theory may shed light on "...how interaction in small groups aggregates...becomes translated into large-scale patterns, and that these, in turn, feed back into small groups..."(Granovetter, 1973:1360).

are interlinked with altered patterns and enhanced effectiveness of resourcing. This interplay explains the significance of the resource driven approach - discussed in the next section.

Resource-driven approach

The analysis of the communities' resourcing⁹⁴ related changes, their sources and effects can capitalise on deployment of a resource driven approach facilitating to analyse how the:

- participants of volunteer collaborative efforts may mutually improve, increase, and sustain their capability to enact resources more effectively;
- altered patterns of resourcing may extend and upgrade the resource base;
- collaborative resourcing contributes to empowering social agency;
- volunteer cooperation may generate associational (rather than competitive) advantage⁹⁵.

The proposed resource-driven approach capitalizes on complementary concepts of resource based view (Wernerfelt, 1984; Rumelt, 1984; Penrose, 1959) and relational view (Dyer and Singh, 1998)⁹⁶. These concepts focus, however, on (i) generation of competitive advantage⁹⁷ and (ii) follow economic capital accumulation logic. They are characterized by the institutional twin-primacy of (iii) zero-sum paradigm; and (iv.) resource scarcity view. They follow (v) dominance-seeking attitude; that generates (vi.) zero sum, domination powers; and (vii) colliding relational dynamism. This constellation may generate a competition trap with lose-lose or multiple-lose outcomes.

The proposed resource driven approach offers an alternative that emphasizes the resources' relational, transformational, and process character (Sewell, 1992) - characteristic for communities⁹⁸. The (i) agents, (ii) the patterns of resource enactment, and (iii) the 'enacted' resources interplay and mutually shape each other (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000) as the analysis of case-communities indicates. Community members are volunteer co-operators who share both the resources and the outcomes of their enactment. This cooperative (pattern of) resource mobilization enables to capitalize on four inter-related sources: namely (i) relation-specific

⁹⁴ The explored communities demonstrate that altered patterns of resourcing enable to increase its effectiveness and improve the members' life quality.

⁹⁵ Collaborative co-creation of social value in the communities enables to enhance the effectiveness of resource enactment and allows improve life quality, i.e. generates associational – rather than competitive – advantage.

⁹⁶ According to the “relational view” units of analysis are networks and dyads of firms.

⁹⁷ The competitive advantage remains relative and temporally since the “competition trap” may descend resultants of colliding powers.

⁹⁸ The resource driven approach emerged through iterations among empirical data, emerging constructs and research literature.

assets; (ii) knowledge-sharing routines; (iii) complementary resources and capabilities; and (iv.) enhanced effectiveness of self-organizing processes in context of resource mobilization.

The deployment of resource driven approach enables to analyse how changing character of resource identification, accession, mobilization, sharing, and multiplication may feedback with qualitative shifts in individual, inter-personal, and community context. In other words, it facilitates to analyse the specificities of resourcing in civil society entities by justifying that since the resources may have non-zero sum character they are not necessarily scarce. The resource driven approach enables to explore also the broader interplay among alterations in (effectiveness of) resourcing and association-prone dynamics at field level.

As the previous overview of research methodologies indicates the thesis follows pluralist approach in methodological context allowing deploying process methods and offering elevated flexibility facilitating to explore organizational change (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005). This approach enables to “drill down”, to explore the interplay among experiences, events, mechanisms and (often yet) emerging tendencies unfolding in various - ranging from empirical till future - domains in spirit of realist view of science (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas, 1989)⁹⁹. The thesis ‘threads’ methodological pluralism on case-study driven construct-creation. It allows great flexibility in exploring the communities’ transformational dynamism - provided proper structuration of and dimension selection in empirical research¹⁰⁰ and appropriate data collection and analysis - discussed in the next part.

2.2 Data collection

The interviews’ combination with (participative-) observation and archival research enabled to collect significant volume of empirical data (Table N 3)¹⁰¹. The deployment of various methods helped to identify (potential) new data sources¹⁰², relevant agents, developments and tendencies, and simultaneously facilitated to select most suitable objects for and better target the interviews. I.e. they complemented and facilitated the effectiveness of each other.

⁹⁹ Table 1 summarizes the - extended ontological assumption of the - realist view of science.

¹⁰⁰ This important correlation was indicated by one of the pre-examiners.

¹⁰¹ Transcripts of interviews with Finnish interviewees are close to 540 and with Hungarians reach 300 pages.

¹⁰² The intensity of participative observation was affected by dynamics of activities unfolding in observed entities. For example the launching of the European Network of Living Laboratories during the Finnish EU-presidency (2006) and subsequent, rather quick expansion of the network offered extending ‘population’ of - often inter-linked - cases and communities. These developments catalysed growing intensity of participative observation and contributed to (re-) focus on creative and innovative self-organizing communities.

CASES		CASE-COMMUNITIES	
Finnish cases	14	Finnish communities	13
Hungarian cases	7	Hungarian communities	4
European cases	3	-	
Global cases	1	Communities with 'global reach'	2
CASES - TOTAL	25	CASE-COMMUNITIES - TOTAL	19
INTERVIEWS	44	CASE COMMUNITIES - ADJUSTED	21
INTERWIEVEES	49	CLUSTERS OF CASE-COMMUNITIES	5

Table 3: Summary overview of interviews and interviewees, cases, (case-) communities

The archival research and the consultation with research literature frequently took place simultaneously and their interplay helped to identify the most relevant issues and tendencies. The archival research in turn facilitated to better target both interviews and (participative) observation and also amended them. The interplay among data and various ways of their collection, the literature and the emerging (pre-) constructs contributed to enhance the effectiveness of both the data collection and the analytic efforts. Their feedbacks accelerated to specify required information and facilitate to identify cases, which offered both relevant and abundant data. Such recursive iteration helped to improve to specify information by enabling to sharpen the interviews' focus - somewhat paradoxically - 'retroactively'. Consequently, the proper formulation and fine-tuning of data collection requirements was delayed until later phase(s) of concept creation. I.e. the analysis helped to refine and in a sense specify empirical data requirements - a phenomenon that the literature also indicates¹⁰³.

The interviews - partly due to such iteration among data, literature and constructs - served as active tool facilitating also the 'creation' - as well as the sampling, selection, unitising, comparison and integration - of data (Stillman, 2006) as Figure N 2 displays. The interviews provided access to 'validated' information since interviewees (Table N 14 – in Appendices)

¹⁰³ "As Glaser and Strauss suggest, beyond the decisions about initial data collection, further decisions about data collection cannot be made until amidst data collection itself - 'the emerging theory points to the next steps', and the data itself ideally reveals what to do next (Glaser and Strauss 1967:47). ...However, only post-interview, during the different write-up phases... [one can] more deeply consider the conceptual and theoretical implications of the interviews"(Stillman, 2006:35).

could check transcripts. It contributed not only to data creation, but also to information and knowledge construction - confirming related indications in literature (Stillman, 2006)¹⁰⁴.

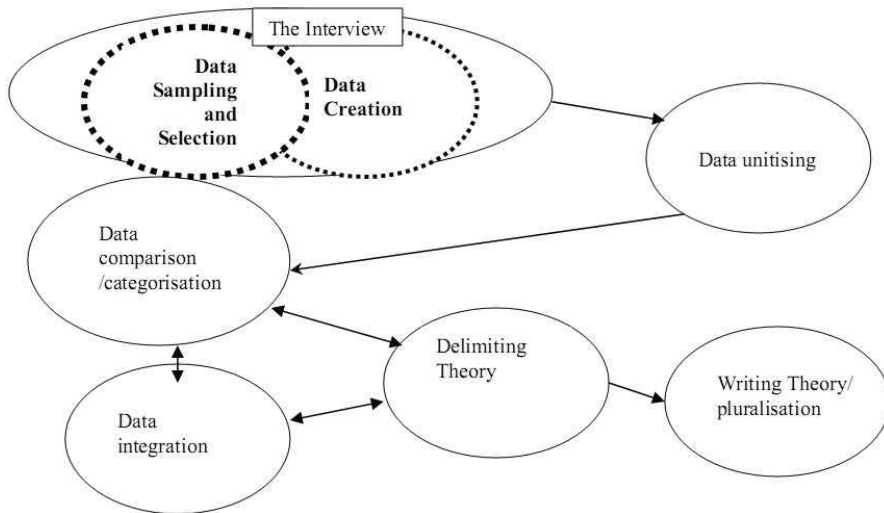


Figure 2: Data management model Stillman (2006:43) derived from Miles and Huberman (1988:181, 249)

The interviews and various sources often discussed multiple - frequently interlinked - cases, reflected broad spectre of volunteer collaboration taking place in various levels ranging from local till pan-European. The identification and delimitation of particular cases took place through recursive ‘primary scrutiny’ of transcripts. The creation of raw data greatly capitalised on a simple ‘technology’ providing rigour in data extraction and handling¹⁰⁵ and facilitating effective data processing and analysis. The next section elaborates on formulation and implementation of the strategy of data analysis.

¹⁰⁴ “...the interview between a researcher and the subject is itself a complex information construction which becomes part of a process of knowledge creation. ...this complex process...as an analytical tool...[may serve] better understanding the process of data creation, capture, organisation, analysis and pluralisation”(Stillman, 2006:50). The interviews follow an approach that “...is naturalistic and interpretive, which values the construction of reality held by each interviewee or informant...”(Stillman, 2006:36). They may help to “uncover the inconsistent and contrasting, in order to provoke theoretical stimulation” - points out Stillman (2006:25).

¹⁰⁵ The 60-90 minutes long interviews, during which written note-taking was minimized, in most cases unfolded as very informative, free conversation. The unobtrusive recording of the interviews helped a small size, digital recorder. The audio files in Windows Media Audio (WMA) format were uploaded to and transcribed as MS Word files on a laptop. A simple Excel table served as a combined ‘digital data base’ facilitating proper ‘labelling’, identification and retrieving of various data sources including audio and (typed and scanned) written files. The references to the transcriptions are the combination of their order number in the Excel and the number of lines indicated by the Word’s line count feature enabling accurate identification of the quotations.

2.3 The analysis of empirical data

The thesis followed multi-level and multi-phase analytic strategy emerging through constant iteration or ‘triangulation’ among empirical data, literature, and pre-constructs. The analytic work started already in early phases of data collection and creation, and capitalized on continuous ‘triangulation’ facilitating a crystallization process also in methodological context. It helped to recognize the focal role of qualitative methods; enabled to select case-study driven concept creation (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Tsoukas, 1989; Yin, 1981, 1994)¹⁰⁶; facilitated the awareness of the importance of process approach; and of the necessity to follow methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005). The recursive scrutiny of interviews performed what Glaser and Strauss (1967) coin as “constant comparison” allowing identifying primary cases and broad sets of relevant attributes (Table N 16 - ‘displayed’ in Appendices¹⁰⁷).

The combinations of recursive scrutiny and ‘triangulation’ enabled to process, structure, and compress raw empirical data by identifying 25 primary cases (Table N 4). From them 14 took place (primarily) in Finland; 7 in Hungary; and 3 - the ENOLL, the Collaboration at Rural (C@R), and the Ambient Intelligence at Work (AMI@Work) open innovation communities - acted as pan-European community networks consisting of local communities with local-global scope of activity¹⁰⁸.

The recurrent scrutiny of the primary cases led to a ‘pilot deployment’ of case-study driven concept creation by analysing Arabianranta as a complex sample-case. This ‘piloting’ contributed to recognise the focal role of the Neighbourhood Association and in broader sense the communities by turning them into primary units of analysis. A subsequent more in depth exploration of the primary cases indicated the presence and active role of a ‘narrower’ set of (circa) 20 *case-communities* (Table N 17 - in section V. of Appendices). A recursive “qualitative scrutiny” facilitated to refine their delimitation and clustering by enabling to identify five clusters of 21 case-communities (Table N 5 below).

¹⁰⁶ Case study driven concept creation (Eisenhardt, 1989, Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Tsoukas, 1989) was developed based on grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) foreseen as ‘lead’ methodology of the thesis.

¹⁰⁷ The resulting voluminous Excel table proved to be a useful data source. Since a printed version remains difficult to read, the electronic version offers an attached Excel table to ensure better accessibility.

¹⁰⁸ The study treats social media as a particular ‘case-community’, consisting of self-organizing communities with truly local-global dynamism and reach.

Order N	Case N	NAME of (complex) CASES	Community related activity in the Case
		FINNISH CASES	
1	F1	Information / Knowledge Society catalysing in Finland	Knowledge society enhancement at national level in Finland
2	F2	e-Democracy enhancement	Civil society / democracy enabling at national level in Finland
3	F3	Innovation communities (facilitated by SITRA)	Complex, national innovation enhancement in Finland
4	F4	Helsinki as Living Laboratory	Self-organizing, open innovation enhancement at greater Helsinki-region level
5	F5	Oulu - regional innovation ecosystem and LL	Informal networking by coordinating local-regional, knowledge economy development with global outlook
6	F6	Arabianranta - "urban laboratory" of Helsinki LL	Professional enabling of district-level self-organizing
7	F7	Learning by developing in Laurea Living Laboratory	User driven innovation serving personalized care and life quality improvement
8	F8	Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory	User-driven, open innovation enhancement aiming complex micro-regional development
9	F9	Community-framed support for handicapped people – Silvia koti	Empathic and holistic care and mutual trust creation to facilitate personal healing and growth of handicapped persons
10	F10	Association of Finnish Waldorf Schools	National collaboration to advance community facilitated enhancement of holistic education
11	F11	Social banking	Social banking facilitating community development
12	F12	Cooperative banking	Community methods in cooperative banking in connection with clients and employees, co-workers
13	F13	Civil self-communication enhancement	Facilitation of civil-public communication through web2.0 interface generation
14	F14	Open innovation enhancement through company related external and internal communities	Boost global level company competitiveness through open-innovation enhancement, the facilitation of internal and external communities
		HUNGARIAN CASES	
15	H1	Open innovation enhancement through Automotive Living Laboratory	Open innovation enhancement in vehicle industry through Living Laboratory
16	H2	User-driven innovation enhancement among farmers - Mórakert Living Laboratory	User driven innovation enhancement in agriculture and rural development
17	H3	Open innovation enhancement through micro-regional Living Laboratory collaboration - Creative Knowledge Centre Living Laboratory	User driven, open innovation enhancement - printing and packaging industry
18	H4	eLearning enhancement in Living Laboratory networks - Corvinno Living Laboratory	Personalized eLearning enhancement – catalysing networked self-communication among Living Laboratories
19	H5	Free Software Foundation Hungary	Enhancement of free and open software usage and development
20	H6	Local community development e-Democracy - Aba	Local democracy and self-organizing enhancement
21	H7	Informal networking to enhance local development - Veresegyház	Informal networking to facilitate local development enhancement
		CASES WITH EUROPEAN RANGE	
22	E1	Facilitation of pan-European Living Laboratory networking and collaboration - European Network of Living Laboratories	European level umbrella organization of innovative, self-organizing, community-related ecosystems aiming open innovation enhancement / coordination of supra-national collaboration of LL communities
23	E2	Open innovation enhancement in rural areas - C&R communities	European-level networking among open innovation enhancement programs in rural areas
24	E3	Networking pan-European collaboration to promote dispersion of ambient intelligent technologies – AMI @ Work communities	Implement ambient technologies in work processes
		CASE WITH GLOBAL REACH	
25	G1	Self-organizing networking through social media	Self-organizing networking with global reach

Table 4: List of the cases

CASE-COMMUNITIES		CLUSTERS	
1	Active Seniors' Community		Life sharing
2	Care TV users' community	LL	Life sharing
3	Artist community		Life sharing
4	Life-sharing in Silvia koti		Life sharing
5	Neighbourhood Association, professional enabler		Life sharing - EXTENDED!
6	Arabianranta - a XXI century virtual village	LL	Local professional enabling
7	Helsinki as Living laboratory	LL	Local professional enabling
8	Oulu - innovation ecosystem development	LL	Local professional enabling
9	Open-innovation of farmers – Mórahalom	LL	Local professional enabling
10	Open innovation of farmers – Turku	LL	Local professional enabling
11	Networking through social media		Social networking and self-communication
12	e-Democracy network – Finland		Participation and agency
13	Legislative change initiated locally – Turku	LL	Participation and agency
14	Local e-Democracy – Aba		Participation and agency
15	Civil society enhancement in Veresegyház		Participation and agency
16	Networking communities in company ecosystems		Sharing transformations
17	Open source communities		Sharing transformations
18	Sharing and transformation in Living Laboratories	LL	Sharing transformations
19	Changes in economic value creation		Sharing transformations
20	Intra-company community enhancement		Sharing transformations
21	Transformations toward knowledge economy		Sharing transformations

Table 5: Overview of case-community clusters selected for secondary, cross-case analysis

The second important conclusion arising from the recursive ‘quantitative scrutiny’ became the necessity to (re-)focus on qualitative methods in order to carry out construct creation. I.e. although the variance approach enacted through ‘quantitative scrutiny’ enabled to specify and re-group relevant attributes, refine the case-communities’ delimitation and clustering (Table N 5) it proved to be ineffective for in-depth analysis of community dynamism¹⁰⁹. The effective construct creation required in-depth analysis of community dynamism combining qualitative methods, process approach, and methodological pluralism¹¹⁰. This combined approach enabled to carry out narrative description¹¹¹ of multiple transformations unfolding in

¹⁰⁹ Attempts of cross-case analysis following quantitative approach produced only ‘pseudo-patterns’. It exemplified ‘quantitative massage of data’ upon plausible expression of Yves Doz offered on a CKIR workshop.

¹¹⁰ The practical experience confirmed the arguments of Van de Ven and Poole (2005) in favour of methodological pluralism.

¹¹¹ The narrative concept creation (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005) emerged also through ‘triangulation’ among empirical data, relevant methodological literature, and various pre-constructs and hunches.

Neighbourhood Association. The narrative description and scrutiny¹¹² of various transformational developments in Neighbourhood Association allowed identifying ‘inflection points’ of feed backing change processes similar to self-empowerment, focus shift in resourcing, and (self-) communication¹¹³. I.e. the narrative description of transformations observable in empirical domain enabled to identify and analyse feed backing change processes and real events unfolding in actual domain. It facilitated to re-contextualize and reframe empirical data by identifying key research dimensions¹¹⁴ for subsequent qualitative analysis of the community dynamism.

The subsequent in depth analysis of the transformational impacts of community dynamism capitalized on case study driven construct creation. The cross-case analysis enabled to scrutinize, refine, and ‘validate’ the emerging, feed backing constructs by crosschecking them through (clusters of) case-communities. I.e. the construct creation also capitalised on “constant comparison” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and simultaneous recurrent iteration between data, emerging (pre-) constructs, and literature¹¹⁵. This interplay catalysed emergent “data slices”¹¹⁶ and (pre-)constructs, which were useful “...not so much for their empirical content, but as a spur to concept and theory building”(Stillman, 2006:39). The various ideas, hunches, constructs facilitated the crystallization and integration of particular datasets into emerging categories, i.e. the “...replacement of tacit judgements by propositions”(Lincoln and Guba, 1985:342). The critical approach¹¹⁷ was of paramount importance to ensure that the constructs “...emerge from the data, rather than being forced into the data” (Stillman, 2006:41). The identification of the community dynamism’s feed backing constructs in actual domain enabled subsequent analysis of its sources and causal mechanisms in real domain.

¹¹² I.e. narrative ‘scrutiny’ successfully replaced previous attempts of quantitative scrutiny.

¹¹³ A ‘narrative scrutiny’ of feed backing changes in the Neighbourhood Association enabled to point out the importance of refocusing on locally available, primarily soft resources. The Artist community indicated the emergence of a new, participative ‘pattern’ of competition.

¹¹⁴ Dimension selection in empirical research facilitated drawing constructs as one pre-examiner pointed out.

¹¹⁵ “By joint collection and analysis, the sociologist is tapping to the fullest extent the *in vivo* patterns of integration in the data itself; questions guide the collection of data to fill in gaps and to extend the theory - and this is also an integrative strategy”(Glaser and Strauss 1967:109).

¹¹⁶ To implementation of “...what Glaser and Strauss call the ‘constant comparative method’...[enables] the rigorous testing of data slices that is to say, parts of interviews that hold as discrete and meaningful against each other for the construction of categories, propositions and new theories (Glaser and Strauss 1967:55ff.)...Data slices offer meaning because they have conceptual and higher theoretical implications. However, not all slices of data will be equivalent in either word count or the quality of the discourse that they contain....”(Stillman, 2006:23-24).

¹¹⁷ The implementation of “...critical theory serves to ‘give social agents a critical purchase on what is normally taken for granted’ (Macey 2000:75)...[and] it also aims to help to move beyond ‘what is normally taken for granted’...” - as Stillman (2006:23) recalls.

This in depth phase of the analysis of community dynamism capitalised on combined deployment of (i) the narrative analysis focusing on changes in Neighbourhood Association; (ii) the structuration theory deployed as analytic tool; and (iii) the case study driven concept creation. The structuration theory as analytic tool enabled to identify process components and their interplay constitutive of association-prone reconfiguration of structuration, while the case-study driven concept creation facilitated to describe communities as continuous self-organizing emergence. I.e. the methodological pluralism enabled to analyse and re-describe sources and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism as continuous interplay between altered, association-prone pattern of structuration and continuous self-organizing. The enactment of this dual pattern of aggregating process feedbacks through wider context of explored case-community clusters enabled its scrutiny and refinement.

The exploration of interplaying change-processes used also visualisation¹¹⁸ or graphical displaying that frequently helped to transform emerging presumptions into (more) explicit ideas. It facilitated to generate and present, virtually 'run and operate' often yet tacit ideas, hunches by simultaneously accelerating their 'crystallization'. The visualization offered useful complement to recursive iteration among empirical data, literature, and emerging constructs by contributing also to recognize the significance of qualitative methods, process approach, and methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005).

The identification and recurrent exploration of the communities' tendency to networking self-upgrading generating their quasi-fields offered indications also on wider, emergent change tendencies. I.e. the recursive scrutiny of feed backing changes unfolding in real domain provided hints also about further, community related, emerging variations often appearing as potential broader transformational outcomes. The continuous triangulation among empirical data, literature, and feed backing pre-constructs indicated the expediency to deploy the "ideal-type description" (Weber, 1949) facilitating to identify and examine feed backing local-global tendencies in early phases of their emergence. This combined, multi-contextual approach enabled to follow process view by exploring the transformational potential of diverse civil society organizations generating yet nascent, transformational outcomes appearing in a fourth, quasi-future domain. I.e. the dynamic, process-oriented, multi-level analytic strategy enabled identify feed backing constructs and concepts constitutive of ideal-type description (Weber,

¹¹⁸ The attempts to visualise dynamic and interplaying processes and their resultants capitalised on new software originally aiming to support more dynamic presentations called „Prezi”.

1949)¹¹⁹ of the civil society's capability of social agency and its potential broader transformational outcomes¹²⁰.

This strategy capitalized on arguments of Pettigrew (1985) indicating that the key to analyse change is tracking interactions between dimensions¹²¹ over time. As he emphasizes the role of individuals must be made visible¹²² and a motor or “theory of theories” is required in order to drive exploratory process(es). In this vein, the study focuses on tracking how the community members' interactions aggregate into feed backing processes unfolding in various dimensions - and also among multiple dimensions¹²³. This approach self-evidently considers and highlights the individuals' role. The methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005) in turn serves as “theory of theories” or as “motor” driving the analysis of feed backing processes. In this pluralist frame the study combines (i) case study driven and generality focused construct creation, (ii) narrative analysis, (iii) structuration-theory as analytical tool, and (iv.) resource driven approach.

The construct and concept creation capitalises on cross-case analysis by examining (the interplay among) causal relationships and concrete contingencies, i.e. by focusing on generality (Tsoukas, 1989)¹²⁴. The combination of several qualitative methods allows operating or ‘running’ emerging and feed backing constructs in several contexts by scrutinizing their validity. I.e. by comparing (i) tendencies and developments that emerging constructs could forecast in various domains with (ii) (feed backs among) experienced events and concrete contingencies observed in empirical domain enables to double-check, verify their relevance and ‘operability’.

¹¹⁹ The communities' networking self-upgrading and their emerging quasi-fields provided important hints about broader transformations and also their feedbacks with 'internal' qualitative shifts similar to new dialectics of cooperation and increasingly inclusive and seamless character of collaboration.

¹²⁰ The recursive ‘triangulation’ facilitated to identify also various dynamic, interconnected constructs constitutive of ideal type description (Weber, 1949) of the civil society's self-empowerment and emergent, feed backing, wider transformational outcomes.

¹²¹ Pettigrew (1985:36) prefers talking about levels rather than dimensions by emphasizing the importance to show how contextual variables of vertical analysis are linked to processes observed in horizontal analysis.

¹²² “Ultimately only individuals act”(Demeulenaere, 2009).

¹²³ The case-study driven concept creation (Eisenhardt, 1989, Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Tsoukas, 1989) enables to consider the interplay among processes unfolding in diverse, “physical” and “virtual” dimensions.

¹²⁴ This focus shift on generality (Tsoukas, 1989) allows broadening construct creation by going beyond identifying only pattern replication (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007).

Since the process-oriented analytic strategy¹²⁵ enables to deal with feed backing changes that may unfold simultaneously in - and among - several dimensions or layers, it should consider various challenges. The analyst must be aware that according to process approach, the “entities, attributes, events may change in meaning over time”(Van de Ven and Poole 2005:1382). Similarly the processes are simultaneously constrained and enabled by structures (Giddens, 1979; Orlikowski, 1992; Stillman, 2006) more precisely by structuration processes; while interplaying processes by time may also shape and alter structures by generating institutional changes. The diverse explored dimensions possess their own context and momentum, which may appear through multiple feed backing processes, relationships, and properties (Pettigrew, 1985). Consequently, in frame of process analysis various patterns, dynamics, and phenomena appearing at one level at certain time-space continuum cannot be linearly reduced or extrapolated into another dimension.

The awareness of such ‘non-linearity’ has of great importance for the proposed analytic strategy that attempts to analyse interplaying changes unfolding in various, ranging from micro till macro levels. This analytic strategy first ‘zooms in’ to micro-level of relationships among members in order to analyse the communities’ transformational dynamism ‘unfolding’ at meso level through examining feed backing change processes, their sources, mechanisms, and impacts. Subsequently it ‘zooms out’ to macro level by exploring broader effects, which the communities’ networking self-upgrading and their quasi-fields generate. I.e. it examines how the altered, association-prone structuration characterizing civil society (entities) may catalyse self-empowerment feed backing with broader transformations constitutive of the (emergence of) knowledge society¹²⁶.

In order to avoid ‘temptations’ of linear extrapolation among diverse dimensions and contexts by disregarding qualitative differences, the study capitalizes on scientific realist approach (Bhaskar, 1987; Tsoukas, 1989). It enables to analyse diverse aspects of (interplaying) changes by focusing subsequently on experiences in empirical domain, on real events in actual domain, on causal relations and mechanisms in real domain that in interplay with

¹²⁵Tsoukas (2005), Chia and Langley (2004) argue for a strong - ontological and analytical - process approach presuming the world is composed of processes (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005).

¹²⁶ The thesis attempts to duly consider challenges and limitations connected with such “dynamic” analytic approach which one pre-examiner indicates in the opinion. The potential that the ideal-type description (Weber, 1949) may provide to elaborate on multi-dimensional process interplay unfolding in civil society and the constitutive, interplaying organizations makes worth taking such risks and carefully handling related challenges.

concrete contingencies generate observed events - and emergent tendencies in a future 'quasi-domain'.

Consequently, the study firstly explores observed change events taking place in empirical domain, which the case-communities generated (subchapter 3.1 and section I of Appendices). This enables to analyse the communities' transformational impacts by exploring real (change) events taking place in actual domain (subchapter 3.2). The next stage analyses the - sources and - mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism unfolding in real domain (subchapter 3.3). The following section explores wider, nascent, emergent trends unfolding in a fourth 'future domain' by considering qualitative changes and new dialectics connected with the civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading creating their quasi-fields and generating broader transformational outcomes (subchapter 3.4). The proposed dynamic, multilevel analytic strategy enables to explore interplaying change processes constitutive of the communities' transformational dynamism. It may consider the (often significant) differences and divergences characterizing the various explored domains, while the process-character of the analysed phenomena serves as common denominator.

3. Empowering volunteer cooperation and societal transformations

This chapter aims to elaborate constructs that describe the transformational dynamism of the volunteers' empowering cooperation that creates their capability of social agency. The thesis explores the civil society organizations' transformational outcomes by examining clusters of case-communities perceived as focal units of analysis¹²⁷. Such central role of communities crystallized through systematic recursive iteration among empirical data, research literature, and emerging, often yet tacit (pre-)constructs and hunches. The empirical data confirmed the communities' robust presence among numerous organizational players, while the literature

¹²⁷ This part carries out in depth cross-case analysis in four consecutive steps by following an extended realist approach (Bhaskar, 1978, Tsoukas, 1989). The first sub-chapter presents (and the section I. of the Appendices describes in details) five clusters of 21 case-community observed in empirical domain. It is followed by analysis of the community's transformational impacts unfolding in actual domain in the 3.2 subchapter. The 3.3 sub-chapter elicits and evokes causal mechanisms of community dynamism by considering 'concrete contingencies' (Tsoukas, 1989). I.e. it analyses the communities' transformational dynamism's underlying mechanisms unfolding in real domain. The fourth sub-chapter explores the interplay among the communities' networking self-upgrading tendencies, the civil society's self-empowerment, and their feedbacks with broader societal transformations. I.e. it discusses feed backing trends among self-empowering civil society and emerging new, associational societal kinetics unfolding in a fourth 'future quasi-domain'.

pointed out at their historic role as the most ancient social entities (Vitányi, 2007)¹²⁸. These case-communities (see copy of Table N 5 - below) are active in diverse fields, have multi-coloured characteristics, and may seem to reflect variations rather than similarities for the first sight. However, their quantitative analysis¹²⁹ facilitates to identify underlying similarities enabling to group them into five clusters and identify transformational impacts that the 3.2 subchapter explores¹³⁰. The subchapter 3.1 presents briefly the 21 case-communities grouped into five clusters, while the section I. of Appendices proposes their more detailed description.

CASE-COMMUNITIES		CLUSTERS	
1 Active Seniors' Community		Life sharing	
2 Care TV users' community	LL	Life sharing	
3 Artist community		Life sharing	1
4 Life-sharing in Silvia koti		Life sharing	
5 Neighbourhood Association, professional enabler		Life sharing - EXTENDED!	
6 Arabianranta - a XXI century virtual village	LL	Local professional enabling	
7 Helsinki as Living laboratory	LL	Local professional enabling	
8 Oulu - innovation ecosystem development	LL	Local professional enabling	2
9 Open-innovation of farmers – Móralalom	LL	Local professional enabling	
10 Open innovation of farmers – Turku	LL	Local professional enabling	
11 Networking through social media		Social networking and self-communication	3
12 e-Democracy network – Finland		Participation and agency	
13 Legislative change initiated locally – Turku	LL	Participation and agency	4
14 Local e-Democracy – Aba		Participation and agency	
15 Civil society enhancement in Veresegyház		Participation and agency	
16 Networking communities in company ecosystems		Sharing transformations	
17 Open source communities		Sharing transformations	
18 Sharing and transformation in Living Laboratories	LL	Sharing transformations	5
19 Changes in economic value creation		Sharing transformations	
20 Intra-company community enhancement		Sharing transformations	
21 Transformations toward knowledge economy		Sharing transformations	

Copy of Table 5: Overview of case-community clusters selected for secondary analysis

¹²⁸ The communities emergence as “first order” (Vitányi, 2007) social entities was intertwined with the human self-emergence. Their transformation into “second order”(Vitányi, 2007) social entities of volunteer co-operators and the emergence of civil society were constitutive of the industrial society that replaced the feudal era.

¹²⁹ The recursive qualitative scrutiny of the empirical data - that the section V. of Appendices describes in details - enabled to identify 21 case-communities grouped into 5 clusters.

¹³⁰ The case-communities are domains and catalysts of underlying changes unfolding in the actual domain (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas, 1989). These are present in all clusters of explored case-communities as their in depth analysis - described in sub-chapter 3.2 - indicates.

3.1 Presentation of the case-community clusters

Life sharing communities

Five from the 21 case-communities belong to a cluster characterized by the voluntarily cooperating members' readiness to share their daily life in direct or indirect manner.

The community of *Active seniors* aimed to ensure meaningful and dignified elderly life for their members. They wished to be “heroes of their own life” instead of become involuntary objects of care-taking¹³¹. The initiators capitalised on lessons of similar efforts in Stockholm and harmonized the model with local and legal conditions in Finland. Their association carried out simultaneously with construction of their multistore house a systematic community building. To tackle challenges required patience and determination: they had to solve planning and construction of personalized apartments; cover ballooning costs of a project finally reaching 9 million euros; start to live in a community in elderly age; participate in daily work of task groups. The community members, through successfully tackling daily problems, simultaneously created a new, self-organizing and cooperative model of elderly care-taking that raised broad interest in Finland and abroad. Their example, the experience gained through project management and community building, led the city council, the government and the parliament to consider multiple, including legislative changes. These may facilitate to implement at national level the practical experience proposed by Active Seniors as a new, community-framed model of self-organizing caretaking of elderly people. The Active Seniors started to receive daily requests to visit their premises and consult about their experience. They continue to work on upgrading the model in order to meet challenges that flying years and changing health conditions could create. The residents established work groups in frame of a new project coined as “the last sprint” and started to systematically identify challenges, and find effective solutions. Their association worked on construction of a second building since the existing one offers home for half of their members.

The Active Seniors initiated “second grandparents” movement that created acquaintances and very close relationships also with families of “second grandchildren”. The Arabianranta districts’ “big project” aiming to safeguard good relationships between kids becoming teenagers and their parents received contribution from Active Seniors. The youngsters

¹³¹ They want to “become the subject of their life”(100-20-27-5) according to the plausible expression of their coordinator.

appreciated a lot mutually caring relationships with their “volunteering” second grandparents, who helped them to tackle challenges of transformations connected to their teenage and young adult life. The improved relationships could contribute to changes, generate trust and mutual care among all generations living in Arabianranta. The Active Seniors’ efforts contributed in multiple ways to improve life quality in their community as well as in the district and also beyond its boundaries. Describing the potential broader impacts of their collaborative efforts and innovative model by answering an EU questionnaire the Active Seniors stated:

“A: We wanted to create a housing community, where elderly people could live an active and a meaningful life, where privacy at home and community life in the house could be combined and where people could decide and rule their own living...(100-20-27-8:1). “...Living in a safe and peaceful environment with friends as long as possible will support sustainable economic and social development in Europe”(100-20-27-8:7).

The *community of care-TV users* emerged with the help of students from the Laurea University of Applied Sciences following the philosophy and daily practice of ‘learning by developing’. They established also a Living Laboratory¹³² to link training and delivery of solutions for practical problems of the districts’ residents. The students learned that many elderly people complain about insomnia. By looking for disentanglement they realised that loneliness is the problem and in cooperation with experts and volunteering senior citizens started to develop services by using digital TV equipment as a communication platform. Their relationships with future “users” became growingly emphatic during co-creative efforts. The acquaintance and co-working relationships generated intrinsic motivation for students and participating experts to find truly ‘personal’ solutions.

The caring TV offered “open channel” for contacting each other by enabling elderly people living alone to come together as a virtual group for vivid “video chatting”. During holidays and weekends it allowed escaping long hours of devastating loneliness. The ability to meet each other in virtual space during Christmas instead of spending time alone and lonely was probably the most valuable, perhaps priceless “present” for many of them. The relationships among ‘random’ members of test users strengthened and increasingly transformed. They met each other more frequently also in ‘physical space’, their relationships became mutually caring, and the group of accidental users became increasingly a true community. The “*care*

¹³² The *Living Laboratories* facilitate open innovation by offering simultaneously (i) the concept of real life laboratory as combined physical and virtual space, (ii) a pattern enabling extended collaboration among large number of potential stakeholders, (iii) a methodology of catalysing open, user driven innovation, and (iv.) growingly global networking among volunteer partners.

TV gives dignity for life” (100-20-2-5) - pointed at the most important effect of their creative collaboration the “users”. They became more active and innovative, initiated new programs and services, and offered altered ways of using enabling technology. Their collaborative relationships and efforts facilitated mutual (self-) empowerment. The caring TV improved the life quality of the community members, as well as of students and experts in multiple ways. Cooperative efforts catalysed self-fulfilment and self-activation contributing to (re-) establish their holistic personality, autonomous self and empowering individuation (Grenier, 2006).

A loose group of amateur artists tried to find art studios and established their association. However, the co-tenants daily kitchen-table discussions about life and art imperceptibly became the most important source of mutual inspiration, generated the bonds of genuine interest and mutual care. Their truly creative, genuine *Artist community* became the central arena for their professional and personal life. As the coordinator of association confesses:

“A: ...on every morning when I come here I have to listen ...is it still here? ...It is good! ...It’s so good! ...normally we are... 10 to 20 people at least here. ...who works come in the evening ... so it’s...busy and crowded and nice...”(100-20-26-5:320-329).

The presence of various types of arts, perspectives, styles and techniques facilitates cross-fertilization and mutual inspiration. The more experienced members offer un-obtrusive coaching for junior artists and they organize professional debates by inviting experts and lecturers. The commonly owned exhibition hall gradually became a genuine art gallery successfully competing with those located in downtown Helsinki. In order to keep their relationships face-to-face, intimate character they decided to help new candidates to establish their own, separate communities and cooperate in multiple ways. Their growing awareness of the mutual advantage to strengthen the image of Arabianranta as an art and design city by increasing the number of visitors and potential buyers transformed their perception of compete and cooperate. The members of the various art groups compete in providing better contributions to improve the effectiveness of their collective efforts. By involving more artists and improving the cooperation with art groups located in other districts they may mutually improve their funding what allows participating in more art event at home and abroad.

The *Silvia koti* community offers another example of genuine *life sharing* between volunteering caretakers, experts and handicapped children. The balanced community life capitalizes on and catalyses caring and emphatic relationships that facilitate healing

handicapped children¹³³. All volunteers participate on an equal footing in so-called “child conferences” where through a dialogical process everybody contributes to elaborate personal solutions, helping to heal kids, achieve qualitative and lasting improvements. I.e. the collaborating participants mobilize their intellectual, relational and emotional energies, their empathy and inspiration, by mutually enhancing their personal creative potential.

The volunteer care-givers often realise that through sharing daily life and carrying out common efforts aiming to help and heal the kids, their participation simultaneously allows developing their holistic personality and autonomous self. I.e. the caring relationships allow mutual empowerment of kids, volunteering care-givers - and their entire community. The care-givers receive as much or even more care than they give to the kids and other members. This recognition enhances the atmosphere of true empathy and mutual care by enabling to find, (re-) establish, and develop their own holistic personality and autonomous self.

The *Neighbourhood Association* successfully (re-)transformed itself into the umbrella organization of the local civil society in Arabianranta by becoming also *professional enablers*¹³⁴. The profound district-wide model shift interplayed with the citizens self-empowering mass self-organizing by transforming them into an ‘extended life sharing community’. The transformation took place after a decade-long development that followed a welfare society related, Northern variant of structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006). Since this Association serves as sample-case that the study analyses in multiple aspects and in detailed manner the current presentation remains truly short to avoid redundancy.

The volunteer cooperation among members of these five communities unfolds as genuine “life sharing” - upon apt expression of an interviewee (100-20-4-5:238). Indeed the members share most aspects of their daily life including activities, tasks and resources, values and principles in five from explored 21 case-communities. The relationships in life sharing communities are characterised by mutual care and empathy. It facilitates to re-create and develop the members’ holistic personality and autonomous self, and enables mutual empowerment. The participants perceive common achievements as personal, motivating

¹³³ The community cooperates with a Finnish network and participates in the international Camphill movement.

¹³⁴ Through professional enabling both the volunteering experts of local service company and the board of Neighbourhood Association catalysed rapid growth and proliferation of voluntary cooperation including establishment of numerous life sharing communities.

success. The (members of) Silvia koti and Active Seniors planned and consciously established their daily life to cooperate and share. The Artist community transformed almost imperceptibly into a genuine life-sharing community although it was established as a loose group of co-tenants. However, it became crucial source of mutual inspiration, the most important and valued dimension of their life. The users of care TV services personal contacts and common daily activities started in virtual space by gradually extending also into 'physical space'. The cooperative and mutually caring relationships among students, experts and volunteering 'users' played important role in successful co-creation of care TV and its services by facilitating the empowering individuation of all participants becoming members of a truly life-sharing community¹³⁵.

The mutual care and one's participation in collaborative efforts in life-sharing communities are perceived as most valued, focal contribution¹³⁶ and crucial resources, which are multipliable and self-multiplying. These special, "soft" resources similar to knowledge are non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28), their unique qualities enable to expand and upgrade also collective resource base. The community members' collaboration and mutual care may affect either their broader environment, they may bring about positive changes in their relationships also with "non-members". The communities, the members' life sharing affect also their broader environment in various ways by carrying out social agency and in turn may capitalize on professional enabling - as the next part indicates.

Professional enabling

Arabianranta embodies the mixture of (i) an art and design city, (ii) a high tech hub, and (iii) a *XXI Century virtual village*. This district of Helsinki offers "plus 10 percent tolerance", i.e. improvements in relationships turned to be the most significant and valued outcome of the decade-long complex development programme¹³⁷. The volunteer professional enabling could catalyse co-creation of common capabilities and large-scale changes aggregating into

¹³⁵ In some cases relatives and friends who did not see each other for a long time re-met and recognised each other through participating in diverse programmes through care TV.

¹³⁶ "We use our best resources, which is each other!" - as aptly formulated an interviewee from Neighbourhood Houses in Australia, quoted by Stillman (2006:272).

¹³⁷ At this point the two professional enablers of the district's development express concordant opinion despite their often diametrically opposite standpoints. The director of the local developer and service company, responsible for local economy development and investment facilitation, carried out voluntary enabling for a decade. The second enabler became the coordinator of the new board of the Neighbourhood Association, the umbrella organization of the local civil society.

overarching model shift¹³⁸. The distributed, often mutually catalytic, incremental developments unfolding in multiple dimensions became constitutive of “continuous radical change” (Plowman et al., 2007a,b). Arabianranta operated as a genuine Living Laboratory¹³⁹ that by facilitating the residents’ self-organizing mass collaboration and the local civil society’s self-empowerment generated multidimensional changes elevating to new, higher dimension its entire development trajectory. These changes interplayed with the Neighbourhood Association’s capacity to take over professional enabling by catalysing the local civil society’s systematic capability building.

The establishment of a large Living Laboratory in *Helsinki* in the early 2000s was expected to help to mobilize the residents’ creativity through open innovation in order to amplify company competitiveness. The Living Laboratory was seen as a tool facilitating to mobilize simultaneously knowledge, art and design in order to upgrade the robust innovation ecosystem that for decades successfully catalysed technology transfer. The city government played active role in generating platforms catalysing self-organizing open innovation through connecting volunteering residents and companies. Their aim was to mobilize through open innovation also huge capacities of city departments especially in healthcare and public transport. The open innovation was perceived as strategic tool simultaneously improving corporate innovativeness, public service efficiency, and life quality.

The Living Laboratory was expected to enhance global competitiveness and attractiveness of the Metropolitan area by catalysing to reshape the national innovation (eco-)system as a whole. The experts convinced the city council that Helsinki as Living Laboratory potentially may elevate systemic innovation to new dimension shifting to quadruple helix model. The aim was breaking path dependence, overcoming cognitive and mental limits that technology transfer focused innovation created. Large-scale practical experiments aimed to mobilize knowledge, art and design as new drivers to upgrade innovation ecosystem, improve attractiveness of Helsinki as a centre of global knowledge economy. The establishment of a globally “competitive”, multi-disciplinary Aalto University aimed to boost innovation, elevate tertiary education into new dimension¹⁴⁰ by catalysing mass self-organizing development of

¹³⁸ The experts of the local service company volunteered for more than a decade as professional enablers.

¹³⁹ They follow thematic approach in urban development and systematically enable the local civil society’s self-organizing. The district offers multilevel web-services delivered well before the construction of the future tenants’ houses starts. The innovative ownership systems of yards enable to provide access also for blind people.

¹⁴⁰ Other ‘tyres’ of Finnish educational system already reached globally leading level as PISA studies indicated.

emerging knowledge society. Helsinki and the broader metropolitan area capitalized for decades on the development model created in Oulu operating as a “macro-pilot” offering practical lessons to boost global competitiveness in the capital and in Finland as a whole.

In *Oulu* local leaders carried out decade-long informal networking generating complex, *regional innovation eco-system* with a global reach. Their aim became to integrate Living Laboratory as new, strategic component driving overarching systemic upgrading. Oulu has a long tradition of regional cooperation and the establishment of the university in the 1960s enabled to generate local capabilities and capacities for the (future) knowledge economy launching the second “great era” of the region¹⁴¹. The self-organizing networks of leaders enabled and orchestrated the region’s timely integration into emerging global processes of mobile technology development and transformed Oulu into genuine “Nokia-city”.

The high level of local and regional collaboration capitalized on dual leadership. It linked community thinking and the systematic soft management of capability generation what provided the mayor with the visionary “creative madness” and intense networking of a prominent university professor. The informal networking among leaders of university, businesses, and public services enabled to adapt, orchestrate, ‘synchronize’ and mutually catalyse their activities aggregating into an evolving innovation ecosystem. This network orchestrated systemic processes by combining appropriate mind-set, effective asset creation, good timing, and proper business models. It facilitated the emergence and growing sophistication of the local innovation infrastructure combining multiple - physical, business, service, financial, knowledge - components. The proactive approach enabled to ‘pre-sense’ and to capitalize on emerging waves of new technologies and strategic market transformations. This multidimensional interplay optimised developments in various fields and allowed combining educated guessing and risk-taking with proper timing of innovative actions. It also facilitated a very effective national lobby and its extension on global level.

However, in the first decade of XXI century the regional development in a sense became ‘captured’ by Nokia, the by far biggest and most influential player - which also had to tackle increasing challenges. The vision in Oulu became blurred. The Internet as a new platform turned to be “over-sized and in-concrete” to offer new strategic direction for orchestrated

¹⁴¹ Oulu’s participation on international market goes back to the XVIII century due to production of tar.

developments. The robust “Nokianization” of the region, the emergence of overly big, growingly in-flexible and bureaucratic local capabilities started to produce negative externalities. The Living Laboratory was seen as an important new tool offering the potential to re-combine existing and obtain new capabilities by allowing re-inventing innovation. The establishment of a Living Laboratory through regional level networking could mobilize new resources through enhanced and systemic open innovation. It offered potential to elevate local innovation ecosystem to qualitatively higher dimension(s) by mobilizing the growing volume and quality of external resources.

The *open innovation* efforts of the *farmers in Mórahalom* brought about a local “cultural-revolution” i.e. went beyond successful implementation of enabling technology. Their project took place simultaneously and also enabled contacts with participants of Living Laboratory efforts on Turku Archipelago¹⁴². In Mórahalom the farmers co-created a sophisticated system predicting the time and volume of cropping enabling to strengthen their market position¹⁴³. The farmers welcomed the proposed project because they participated in a production and sales cooperative and used cutting edge technologies in their daily operations, often creating innovative solutions; both cooperation and high tech were part of their everyday life. The Living Laboratory helped to improve their market position by increasing their income generating enhanced motivation to cooperate. The project capitalized on dual leadership. The IT experts from Szeged University paid attention also to systematic trust and social capital creation. They were ready to contribute to solution of local problems even if un-related to EU financed project. The counsellor and coach from local Agrarian Chamber acted in turn as a visionary leader. He also played a key role in the project’s self-organizing extension and upgrading¹⁴⁴. This dual leadership optimally combined systematic, patient, soft management and visionary, innovation focused leadership (similarly as it happened in Oulu¹⁴⁵).

The systematic enhancement of collaboration, the trustful atmosphere convinced farmers to provide mutual open access to most sensitive data of their climate computers directing and controlling production processes. This broad data exchange generated rapidly growing and

¹⁴² Both projects are carried out in frame of European Network of Living Laboratories (ENOLL).

¹⁴³ The local farmers from Mórahalom, a small town in Southern Hungary, in cooperation with experts of Szeged University established Living Laboratory enabling to predict time and volume of peppers ready for shipping.

¹⁴⁴ He successfully “triggered and pushed” the implementation and upgrading of cutting edge innovations by acting at ecosystem level and utilizing biotechnology.

¹⁴⁵ In Oulu such dual leadership delivered the major and one of the professors of the University.

unique knowledge base. Its analysis allowed identifying potential concrete ways for individual improvements in production of pepper. The commonly developed sophisticated system improved predictability of quantity, time of delivery, and also quality of product by facilitating to improve the farmer's market position in relation to large wholesaler chains.

These positive dynamics allowed starting a new open innovation project by using state of art biotechnology. The consequent implementation of the ecosystem approach allowed creating pre-planned balance between the most harmful pests and their natural biological enemies. This enabled to improve quality without applying chemicals and helped to compete with 'traditional' bio-products. The advisor of local Agrarian Chamber by capitalising on his extended, international professional network provided genuinely innovative indications. In the new, self-organizing phase of open innovation the knowledge transfer and the high level of trust enabled farmers to work without external financing; it created the sustainability of open innovation by mobilizing locally available resources.

On the *Turku Archipelago* the professional enablers by facilitating Living Laboratory related local projects succeeded to convince *farmers* that *open innovation* might contribute to solutions of daily problems. The systematic trust-creating efforts in cooperation with local social entrepreneurs catalysed significant creative inputs on behalf of farmers to design and launch Mobile Direct Sales project¹⁴⁶. Moreover the farmers encouraged project managers to act as trusted intermediaries and create forums and platforms enabling to level up their collaboration. The trust enhancement could upgrade cooperation among farmers by enabling to share production-related 'internal', also financial data. This would be necessary to elaborate realistic risk assessment and to design effective, innovative business model(s). However, the time span and resource-intensity of trust building, the limited project management capacities, and the technology take up oriented EU financing restrained to elevate trustful relationships to such new level. Due to this mismatch the project did not ensure sustainability. This outcome re-confirmed previous negative experiences indicating that external funding does not allow creating sustainable solution for local problems. The combined efforts of project enablers and local players from regional development networks succeeded to 'archive' accumulated knowledge for potential future use. As a 'positive legacy'

¹⁴⁶ The aim was to develop local tourism through mobile phone applications enabling direct sale of products and services.

the regional university of applied sciences could establish cooperation with various Living Laboratory networks, and as professional enabler generating self-organizing.

Local professional enabling is often carried out as informal networking among local leaders. Professional enablers may catalyse self-organizing of innovative activities from relatively small group(s) of farmers to entire regions and metropolitan areas partly by promoting (increasingly) open innovation. The explored cases are often related to efforts aiming to establish and operate EU-funded Living Laboratories (Table N 5) and may contribute to create and upgrade local innovation eco-systems, such as in Oulu and Helsinki. The professional enabling helps to establish and strengthen trustful relationships and accumulate social capital. It may facilitate the civil society's structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006)¹⁴⁷ bringing about systematic development of new capabilities, catalysing to launch self-organizing mass-collaboration.

Social networking and self-communication

Rapidly growing participation in social networks and various web2.0 related activities is also constitutive of the current global associational revolution (Salamon et al., 2003). Networking self-communication (Castells, 2009)¹⁴⁸ enables vivid dialogic collaboration (LinkedIn) that in a wide range of fields may also feedback to practical efforts in 'physical space' (Facebook)¹⁴⁹. Web-based initiatives are capable to ensure sustainability in efforts that liaise people in need and volunteers ready to offer occasional or more frequent help; i.e. networking self-communication facilitates to extend the range of voluntary collaboration into and through 'virtual space', as the explored case-communities exemplify.

¹⁴⁷ In the frame of structured self-organization - that Leadbeater (2006) describes by analysing the impressive success story of the Brazilian city, Curitiba - local authorities through systematic professional enabling generate and orchestrate self-organizing efforts. These actively catalyse local development with enhanced participation of the civil society and various players from the neighbourhood.

¹⁴⁸ The "...mass self-communication...multiplies and diversifies the entry points in the communication process. This gives rise to unprecedented autonomy for communicative subjects to communicate at large. Yet, this potential for autonomy is shaped, controlled, and curtailed by the growing concentration and interlocking of corporate media and network operators around the world. Global multimedia business networks (including government-owned media) ...integrate the networks..., platforms... and channels of communication in their multilayered organizations, while setting up switches of connection to the networks of capital, politics, and cultural production..." Castells (2009:135).

¹⁴⁹ Self-organizing Facebook groups of volunteers proved to be very effective coordinators of mutual and self-aid (<https://www.facebook.com/SzarnyasFejvadasz>). Acting as matchmakers they were capable of contacting distressed persons during extreme weather conditions in Hungary in 2013. They proved to be far more effective than the authorities responsible for carrying out such activities.

The ability to participate in multiple, often virtual, communities amends new aspects into daily life by catalysing the potential for mutual and self-empowerment:

“A: ...you are handicapped today if you aren’t comfortable with the computer and the web...[allowing to]...systematically participate in certain groups, which are...important for your life for certain reasons. If you’re having a child ...you are participating in daddy’s forum ...get information for yourself and share information, which helps you. It strengthens you probably even in hard to handle situation you face with...in your work life ...if you are going to a transformation: should I skip this job and go somewhere else? There are probably a million other guys...in the same situation...around the world ...it helps either to build your certainty - should I do it ...then if yes, which direction should I go?”(100-20-22-5:60-70) - argues the deputy-major of Turku Archipelago promoting the fibred vision providing the potential for self-empowerment.

Social networking facilitates to establish chance acquaintances and some may turn and elevate even into one’s core group, which on average consists of 3-7 persons (Adams, 2010):

“A: ...In my Facebook community I have [contacts] ...from [different] countries ...for example from Turkey someone [whom] I have never known before ...we had common friend and so simply became my Facebook friend...”(100-20-6-5:45-47) - points out at her personal experience the former coordinator of the Finish knowledge society program.

Networking self-communication (Castells, 2009) simultaneously presupposes, capitalises on, and facilitates association-prone institutional changes. The participants’ awareness may accelerate both acceptance and spread of such alterations. The awareness of belonging to a - frequently virtual - community of same-thinkers may be empowering. It generates readiness to support and represent openly non-traditional, ‘non-conformist’ approaches; i.e. enhancing awareness may affect - facilitate, interfere or impede - further institutional changes:

“A: ...it’s surprising that ...middle age people ... [are so] active and ready to say that this is not right ...cannot go on like this. People ...I would have never talked with would say that...”

Q: It is it because you feel like you are in a community ...you are not alone?

A: Yes. And when you see that others also say so ...you are not afraid to say it anymore. ...before that I thought that I will be labelled ...that no one...will hire me...if I say that this is important ...[be] concerned ...in environment ...now you can say it”(100-20-6-5:457-465) – explains the former coordinator of the knowledge society program.

Participation in social networks may create awareness of one’s capability to generate institutional and social change. Self-communication may facilitate the participant’s enhanced self- and social consciousness, capability, and readiness to carry out social agency. It allows giving voice to certain groups by generating an ability “...of forcing...change...through various types of actions and protests, including those that are meant to mobilize public opinion”(Hirschman, 1970:30); i.e. the cooperative interactions may create empowerment. The participation in networking self-communication generates awareness and facilitates to “...see

that I'm not the only one who's thinking like this. ...that director ...or that professor is thinking so and ... I can also think like that and say it. So that's also a kind of empowerment. ...people ...come to Internet and say that this is not right"(100-20-6-5:448-451) - points out the former coordinator of the national knowledge society program.

Social networks possess dual potential in institutional context. They catalyse self-communication that provides unprecedented autonomy (Castells, 2009) for civil society players. They may serve as important domains of self-organizing co-creation of social innovations empowering individual and collective efforts to overcome estrangement pressures. At the same time and to an increasing degree the market and public players utilise social networks and diverse web2.0 phenomena as channels of robust influencing, and manipulation of their participants as consumers and voters. I.e. the institutional effects of social networks are strongly context dependent. Openness may serve simultaneously diametrically opposing trends in connection to social networks and web2.0 related activities:

"A: ...Google is ...utilizing global openness and creating few extremely closed standards. ...of course the ...most defended ...is the search engine...

A: ...But around the core ...they...manage the...application protocol interfaces. ...with the all new Internet economy where mails are "flying" and applications are flying and all the content is flying, they have to grab as many as possible ...They use ...open world thinking [to get] access to our homes, to our consumption and then sharing it to all. ...the greatest example where ...my citizen role says that "Wait a minute, how can this happen?" They give you free-of-charge terabytes of free server-base for your e-mail ...even...corporate IT cannot cope with extended traffic and intelligence ...Our people are using Google and others, searching interesting information, loading them to computers ...Google is giving them...individual management...tools for it. ...It ends up that I'm talking from Google to Google...on very confidential ...matters [with my colleagues and friends]. ...Google is great for me; Google is making the money, which I'm not making. But it would be even greater if it would be...an open source community who would share into it. But Google is so much more efficient ...doing it. ...we all share all our information through our Gmail to Google ...we share to all global community with literate people, which is great. But ...I start questioning that why am I doing this with, for Google..."(100-20-5-5:310-337) - describes the expert of a global company the intertwined empowering and disempowering tendencies that the participation in social networking may generate.

The pattern(s) of enactment (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000) may turn the same technology simultaneously into source of empowerment and estrangement as self-communication through social networks and web2.0 phenomena demonstrate. Depending on concrete context and mechanisms of implementation, identical technology may promote exclusion and

estrangement and may serve as a robust source of participation and social agency¹⁵⁰. The zero-sum-driven underlying institutional approach tries to deploy communication power to influence the social networks' participants by limiting, deforming or even derailing genuine (empowering potential of) their self-communication. Nevertheless, the growing awareness of the dual character of enabling technologies may facilitate self-communication with empowering effects (Castells, 2009) and prevent disempowering impacts. The interplay between self-communication and awareness of its potential to create association-prone institutional changes may enhance (the effectiveness of) the community members' participation and agency.

Participation and agency

The success of the *Finnish national e-Democracy network's* efforts is dependent on their ability to re-invigorate participation rather than on implementation of enabling technologies - as its national coordinator emphasizes. In context of democracy, deliberation, and participatory enabling¹⁵¹ Finland's performance is less favourable¹⁵² than in context of information society. The (self-)empowerment of NGOs and civil society organizations is indispensable to strengthen democracy and the more effective democratic participation is crucial for the civil society's self-empowerment. The enabling technologies' practical implementation or 'take up' and the e-Democracy efforts may remain ineffective without the citizens' active participation. Therefore the presence of the conservative 'play safe' approach among civil society players is an unexpected problem in context of e-Democracy. The enhancement of participation aims to "get ... actors to emerge"(100-20-23-5:641) also 'inside' the civil society. The democracy requires the citizens' informed participation in decision-making and change processes. Their - capability and readiness of - agency requires targeted communication, which in turn facilitates informed participation.

Currently the media "...doesn't ...report on decision-making processes or processes going on in society. ...don't actually give citizens any necessary information, any ...base for action as citizens"(100-20-23-5:577-579).

¹⁵⁰ The "neutrality of technology" concept has misleading character as SITRA experts indicate (100-20-11-5).

¹⁵¹ "We are responsible for developing the Finnish democracy as a whole. But of course ...this is more a question of seeking partnership and trying to create processes that are bigger than us... we try to find ways to empower the NGOs and try to make their life easier so it's not just a question of new ICT tools it's more complex" (100-20-23-5:660-665).

¹⁵² "The N 45... There were about 300 countries so we were very close to countries such as Azerbaijan and Mongolia"(100-20-23-5:83-84).

“A: ...how to enable new networks and new forms of participation for example through the Internet?...how we can ...make it real. What I wouldn't like to see is ...playing democracy ...offering ...sort of play participation. I would like to see real democracy ...to connect actual decision-making processes of politics to people”(100-20-23-5:323-327) - argues the head of the e-Democracy department of the Finnish Ministry of Justice.

The effective deployment of new tools of e-Democracy requires orchestrated efforts promoting participation, overcoming the “consumption of democracy services”. In order to facilitate participation and agency a broader socio-economic approach should replace the dominance of narrow economic vision(s). I.e. fundamental institutional shifts are necessary, which request dialogue embracing among others education, media, and political parties.

“A: [Its dangerous]...to see the society only as a network of customers that use services ...[which] local and central government offer ...they are not citizens but customers that use democracy services. ...If we can't change the direction of this process ...this might lead to something very different...

Q: This is the case, when you have everything on surface, but it's empty...?

A: Precisely, yes”(100-20-23-5:556-565) - emphasizes the head of e-Democracy department of the Finnish Ministry of Justice the importance to avoid ‘playing democracy’ and enhance participation instead of deploying only new technological tools.

The *local democracy development* efforts on *Turku Archipelago* Living Laboratory succeeded to initiate institutional, including legislative changes, i.e. carry out agency, to generate collaboration and changes at national level. The orchestrated systematic cooperative efforts and coalition creation¹⁵³ catalysed legislative changes that allow implementing video-conferencing technologies in local decision making. The local initiative generated amendment to the law on local government, which had enabling and indicative - instead of prescriptive and prohibitive - character; i.e. it turned out to be a forerunner of knowledge society legislation - actually also at EU-level.

Although the initial proposal aimed to facilitate participation in large, sparsely populated, often highly fragmented geographical areas similar to the Archipelago, the approved legislation raised interest in various localities, including towns. It turned out that video conferencing may offer sensible time-sparing also in bigger cities with increased traffic congestion and traffic jams. The use of video-conferencing in local decision making facilitated experiments with e-Democracy solutions and enactment of new resources by catalysing broader participation. I.e. individual and collective empowerment could capitalize on deployment of enabling technologies, institutional changes, self-organizing and

¹⁵³The initiators successfully engaged with non-linear processes by generating legislative changes.

mobilization of locally available resources. The concrete pattern(s) of enactment¹⁵⁴ played significant role in successful mobilization of the technology's empowering potential¹⁵⁵.

The *local e-Democracy program* in *Aba* aimed to catalyse the residents' mass participation and self-organizing in order to "...improve life-quality... in the era of European and Hungarian information and knowledge society ...by developing *Aba* into an intelligent city that appreciates and implements knowledge..."(100-20-64-21:11)¹⁵⁶. The residents supported initiatives to elect "street parliaments" and to establish an innovative, hybrid coordinative entity - the Magistrate. This later body was responsible to coordinate efforts aiming to elaborate detailed content and regulation of e-Plebiscites and other new tools of participative and e-Democracy facilitating to orchestrate self-organizing among residents. The citizens supported these initiatives, which became part of their self-identity and mobilized their creativity, cooperation, and locally available, soft resources facilitating change¹⁵⁷:

"...the cooperation offers new chances... It recognizes that the amount and timing of financial (budgetary) resources do not exhibit the key for our future. There are rather our thoughts about the present and the changes that we commit ourselves what decides our future..."(100-20-64-11:1) - emphasize in their statement members of the newly established Magistrate.

The citizens' growing readiness to participate facilitated and accelerated the development of both the micro-region and *Aba*, its "capital" which after decade-long, systematic efforts was officially declared a city¹⁵⁸. Concrete participative democratic efforts led to limited results, the self-organizing remained focused on particular topics and groups¹⁵⁹. The micro-region's successful development capitalized on structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006).

The attempt to *develop the local civil society in Veresegyház* aimed to serve as a national pilot program in order to offer transposable constructs and solutions in context of Hungary's EU accession in 2004. The decade-long, balanced development of Veresegyház enabled to attract

¹⁵⁴ The technology could serve equally empowerment and disempowerment, its effect depends at significant degree on the patterns of its enactment.

¹⁵⁵ The deployment of videoconferencing in decision making processes enabled to spare travel time in order to participate in meetings, therefore more people considered their candidacy to board members. Additionally more citizen got access to follow up - and as (potential) electors - influence the votes of board members.

¹⁵⁶ *Aba* is the "capital" of a micro-region of the rural area nearby one of the biggest and most dynamic Hungarian industrial city, Székesfehérvár.

¹⁵⁷ An important component of success was the conscious focus on emotional - besides rational - aspects.

¹⁵⁸ *Aba* was the centre of the surrounding micro-region from its establishment in 2004, but it became a city after decade-long efforts in July 2013.

¹⁵⁹ In context of emerging "non-orthodox" developments at national level the direct democracy had little chance to flourish also locally. Nevertheless the e-Democracy program initiated in early 2000s, focusing on participative democracy could mobilize citizens. It played role also in the outcome of local elections in *Aba* in October 2014 (although only 29,9 % of the voters participated their 69,6 % supported the incumbent mayor).

large investments including affiliates of GE and other global firms¹⁶⁰ by generating steady inflow of new inhabitants including many young families. The city board and the mayor assured openness and accessibility, systematically cooperated with residents and all stakeholders. In this context the local leaders' informal network played significant initiating, orchestrating, catalyst, and lobbyist role. However, in 2004 the civil society development project¹⁶¹ was elaborated without identifying genuine needs, its preparation and implementation did not mobilize the residents and local resources by remaining dependent on external funding. The 'champions' proposing the concept tried to follow strictly top-down management tools characteristic for company development projects by generating disinterest and broadening criticism among residents. Efforts to 'develop civil society' without its cooperation and even involvement necessarily failed.

The program generated increasing tensions because it missed to address the lack of capacity in local schools what due to the inflow of young families with kids became a 'burning issue'. Despite its initial success, the innovative micro-regional training project, proved to be unable to offer genuine solution¹⁶². In order to prevent young families' moving (back) to Budapest the mayor of Veresegyház convinced the city board to increase significantly their indebtedness¹⁶³ in order to build the "school of XXII century". The termination of micro-regional cooperation in education generated further tensions among program participants. With expiration of budgetary financing the program implementation unit ceased to exist leading to termination of the micro-regional projects. The local development continued to follow a structured self-organization pattern (Leadbeater, 2006). The mayor and the board through proactive daily work with residents and various local players successfully re-enforced trustful atmosphere in Veresegyház. The restoration of the local leaders' informal networking through consequent efforts was successful but turned to be a time consuming exercise¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶⁰ Veresegyház is located about 20 km from Budapest, being a dynamic centre of a micro-region formerly having agricultural character. Today it hosts, among others, turbine assembling and plane component plants of GE which are the third largest contributors to the industrial export of Hungary.

¹⁶¹ The civil society components of the 2004 program aimed to establish in every location facilities serving leisure activities.

¹⁶² The pupils "commuted" in dedicated micro buses among the local schools specializing in particular subjects - from IT to language teaching.

¹⁶³ The inflow of new inhabitants required also to develop physical infrastructure in new residential areas.

¹⁶⁴ The tensions led also to political confrontations in Veresegyház. Nevertheless attempts of political parties to overthrow the mayor during elections remained "highly unsuccessful".

In search of “local” solutions the players frequently try to capitalise on enabling technologies and (social) innovations including new forms of participative and e-Democracy. Indeed, four of explored 21 case-communities (Table N 5) are related to efforts aiming to promote participation and social agency partly through local experiments with e-Democracy. Two of the four explored case-communities acting in Hungarian micro-regions (Aba and Veresegyház) aimed to mobilize local civil society in order to capitalise on favourable context providing increasing funding due to accession of Hungary to the European Union. However, even significant financing could fail to produce agency, good and sustainable results if it was impaired with local involvement and participation. The two Finnish cases demonstrate that beside public sector players (democracy networks) also local actors may initiate and catalyse broader institutional alterations, including legislative changes (Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory) by catalysing and capitalizing on networking and broadening participation.

In frame of innovative forms of direct democracy enhanced participation could interplay with increased reflectivity, reflexivity, and knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984) and with growing self- and social consciousness¹⁶⁵. I.e. may generate association-prone institutional constellation facilitating the civil society players’ empowering agency in diverse dimensions and contexts ranging from local till national levels. Similarly economic developments, particularly company competitiveness are frequently linked with association-prone institutional-relational changes. These are connected to open innovation and sharing transformation catalysing and capitalizing on enhanced participation through external and internal communities - as next cases indicate.

Sharing transformations

Although communities of volunteers are mostly seen as civil society phenomena they are present at growing degree also in market sector players - six from the 21 case-communities belong to “sharing transformations” cluster (Table N 5). These facilitate among others increasingly open innovation enabling to re-couple social and economic value creation (Nicholls, 2006). They follow characteristic for emerging knowledge economy transformations in perception and generation of value and wealth.

In *companies*, the mobilization of *external* resources through open innovation and often global firm ecosystems has elevating importance for competitiveness. The “rivalry of

¹⁶⁵ In a sense they are extended versions of “life-sharing” discussed above in details.

innovation ecosystems...”(100-20-7-5:787) catalyse the emergence of networked communities whose membership may exceed few million persons¹⁶⁶ which serve as catalytic platforms facilitating mobilization of external resources through open innovation. I.e. the innovation ecosystems make companies and other participants of open innovation to go through mutual learning curve. Even competitors may collaborate by participating in open innovation efforts (100-20-7-5:680) in order to gain access to outcomes of voluntary co-creative efforts. The effective collaboration requires deploying non-traditional tools similar to partnering through Living Laboratories, open licenses and standards, or open source approach. It is necessary to clarify and learn modalities and practicalities of cooperation with large number of often very different types of participants. The enabling, orchestration, and soft-management of collaboration in frame of similar large-scale entities require from companies mastery and effectiveness in network governance.

The company ecosystems frequently include and cooperate with extremely independent and self-governing *open source communities*, where volunteering, inherently motivated co-operators follow meritocratic and self-organizing approach. Originally the programmers aimed to cooperate with software users directly through self-organizing peer production (Benkler, 2006); i.e. they tried to circumvent ‘costly’ mediation of firms. In open source communities large, global companies also have to participate ‘on an equal footing’ in collaborative efforts similarly to other - mostly much smaller - members. In other words, the participating companies have to adapt to common agenda and work-patterns of volunteer participants in order to get access to outcomes of voluntary cooperative efforts. They have to find also non-traditional, flexible business models in order to transform the shared outcome arising from cooperation into profitable business interactions.

The open source communities focus on quality and effectiveness and demonstrate in practice their competitiveness and even supremacy by relying on high transparency and turning work into passionate co-creation. Due to the participants’ strong motivation, broad collaboration, and sharing these communities are able to deliver high quality results often quicker than market players. The new versions’ early and frequent releases through Internet enabled, quasi-global dialogue facilitate to identify and correct errors, “bugs” in software and other

¹⁶⁶ The membership of the Forum Nokia rapidly grew beyond four million volunteer participants.

collaborative “products”¹⁶⁷. These cooperative efforts capitalize on brainstorming techniques and other dialogic solution-settings that reveal the closeness and catalyse the emergence of unanimity in opinions regarding the proper strategy and solutions. This pattern which combines openness and cooperation may accelerate significantly the co-creative development of high-quality products.

“A2: The fundamental principle of the free software is the early and frequent release of new versions. The first ones are practically useless.

A2: After half a year they often make still daily releases that frequently contain serious errors. Nevertheless this approach allows achieving a result that proprietary development may produce in 5 to 8 years”(100-20-61-5:309-316) - explain members of the Hungarian Ubuntu community.

The open licensing guarantees that the output of the collaborative efforts remain freely accessible and sharable, on the one hand, and allows creating further applications which aim profit generation by following proprietary model, on the other hand. The flexible co-creation of high-quality outcome is important achievement which drives the spread of the open source model by embracing from the car industry the till agriculture multiple fields, i.e. by going beyond software creation. The open source approach enabling and capitalizing on self-organizing collaboration may also exhibit a practical example of future firms providing a new, ‘open model of enterprise’ of the emerging knowledge economy. The open source approach allows achieving best quality and high effectiveness by focusing on value and effectiveness driven innovations. I.e. it enables to avoid characteristic for market players ‘side-effects’ related to shareholder value maximization and profit optimization.

The *Living Laboratories*’ flexibility enables to catalyse broad array of innovations ranging from high tech products and services for matured markets till ‘low tech’ solutions fulfilling local needs in transition countries. The Living Laboratories offer simultaneously (i) the concept of real life laboratory as a combined physical and virtual space, (ii) a pattern enabling extended collaboration among a large number of potential stakeholders, (iii) a methodology of catalysing open, user driven innovation, and (iv.) growingly global networking among volunteer partners. The Living Laboratories may embrace small groups of farmers as well as entire regions or the Metropolitan area of Finland. Due to this broad diversity the practical

¹⁶⁷ “A: The top-down approach failed spectacularly...

A2: ...In case of Ubuntu its very visible... everything operates bottom-up. When Ubuntu makes changes... on the first day there is a chat that volunteers call IRC that is open for anybody...”(100-20-61-5:433-439).

outcomes of Living Lab related efforts are highly variable and context dependent, they require conscious management of social capital and trust and often also social innovations.

The networking self-upgrading of the Living Laboratories' rapidly globalizing networks may create and utilise robust creative potential. They frequently capitalize on self-organizing communities which enable to share and multiply locally available resources. These include significant untapped capacities in 'virgin' markets (100-20-5-5) which are free from negative consequences that the 'legacy of companies' generate. Moreover Living Laboratories may connect innovative local user communities in virgin markets with actors in developed economies, i.e. potentially may generate 'reverse flows' by transferring innovations from less developed areas to matured markets.

"A: ...[the Living Laboratories may] react...on ideas ...initiated in actual user communities and ...to start identifying such areas where...user community could...work on further development and even production of services ...Create Living Labs which are...early lead markets in those areas ...A good test for them if they can attract...companies ...Sometimes these...virgin markets, where...legacy of companies doing things on the old way [is missing] ...could become and prove to be the most interesting...like the South African [Living Laboratory] case...where we would... transfer [local solutions]... to developed economies"(100-20-5-5:132-153) - explains a 'founding father' of the Living Laboratories concept providing broad potential and flexibility.

The *altered patterns of value and wealth perception and creation* characteristic for emerging knowledge economies bring about changes in institutional and relational dynamics and may catalyse innovative forms also in financial organizations similar to social banking. The effectiveness may capitalize on attentive and caring relationships, and readiness to 'listen to' employees also in 'traditional organizations' of the financial sector. Such tendencies may feedback with networking and horizontalization by creating more collaborative atmosphere and catalysing intrinsic motivation of co-workers. The more cooperative relationships at work may contribute to improve the quality of services to clients, i.e. have growing significance for competitiveness. The creation and mobilization of abundant social capital facilitate to generate economic value by enabling to re-couple it with social value and wealth. The innovative models of value creation, similar to *social banking*, implement new constructs like value engineering enabling collaborative resourcing of cooperative development efforts often related to local communities. Social banking enhances transparency and communication what allows a 'swap' between fulfilments of the depositors' higher level needs and their (slightly) decreased expectations in financial terms. I.e. the fulfilment of higher level needs allows

capitalizing on growing social consciousness of depositors and on the logic of social - besides economic - capital accumulation.

The companies have growing pressures to work in *community* mode also *internally* by searching “Internet-like”, flexible solutions. Since everybody must be “lean, quick and efficient” (100-20-7-5:129) in all areas the growingly precise and parsimonious resourcing mechanisms generate lean structures and inflexible internal silos. Firms lack internal reserves, the ‘slack’ that previously enabled to provide resourcing for ‘unplanned’ innovation(s). Since ‘cushions’ facilitating (resourcing of) innovation disappear, companies should increase agility and re-create due level of resource fluidity (Doz and Kosonen, 2008). The internal communities offer access to additional soft and multipliable resources through their volunteering members’ enhanced creativity. The internal communities may also facilitate to process and implement in the firms the ideas that external networks of open innovation communities generate abundantly.

“A: ...We have noticed...cases when the internal community could reach the goal quicker, and utilizing less resource than traditional product program development did... So it is [worth] learning how to behave on this real community way...”(100-20-7-5:298-301) - explains the internal communities’ potential advantage a crowd sourcing expert of a global company.

“A: ...there was a market demand to not only bring users for the...open process ...but also [facilitate their] becoming kind of innovators and producers of the solution. ...we then wanted to see if ...specialized user communities, those who can design [are capable to] make a better product. And it seemed that they were able to, so the kind of crowd-sourcing, million minds are more efficient than if 5000 engineers...start look at creating new services”(100-20-5-5:46-51) - describes the expert of a global company the market pressures that make firms to utilise potential that open innovation may provide.

Community and social networks related activities might be important catalysts for *multidimensional changes aggregating into* emergence of *knowledge economy and society*. These alterations are related to feed backing generational and institutional changes as Finland, being a forerunner, demonstrates. Knowledge, creativity, and the capability to communicate and cooperate are perceived to be crucial sources of value creation - and are respected in personal context. Technology is also seen as a tool offering improved potential for enhancing productivity, increasing free time, and enhancing connectivity, i.e. changes that contribute to improved life quality. Individuals feel important to make choices by following their own personality. The growing importance of knowledge and creativity and the strengthening horizontalization tendencies also bring about changes in market and public sectors. They

affect the style of management and leadership and facilitate an increase in cooperative character of relational dynamism. By acting as employees the younger people see openness, freedom, and motivated, meaningful and creative activity as a way of life. These tendencies simultaneously strengthen also - organizations of - civil society. The participation in diverse self-organizing activities is appreciated since it may catalyse belonging, consciousness, awareness, and empowerment.

Although *communities* are mostly seen as civil society organizations six from the 21 case-communities belong to “*sharing transformations*” cluster and they act in - or in cooperation with - market sector players. The growing importance for company competitiveness of getting access to external resources through open innovation turns the communities of volunteers into important *external partners* and raises their significance for firms also *internally*. The *open source* pattern proves to be useful and viable in growing number of fields also other than software creation. The companies, but also regions and local players see *Living Laboratories* as important catalysts of open innovation and useful tools for establishing or upgrading innovation ecosystems. The *changing* perception and practice of *generating value and wealth* capitalizes on re-coupling social and economic value (Nicholls, 2006), and on more cooperative relations to employees - perceived rather as co-workers - primarily in knowledge firms. Upon expectations of economic experts the *emergence of Finnish knowledge economy* may accelerate after 2015 due to aggregation of various, often mutually catalytic change processes unfolding in (socio-)economic context.

The communities generate multiple, often significant transformational impacts in diverse aspects observable in *empirical domain* (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas, 1989), as the explored case-community clusters demonstrate. Their clusters often exhibit differing characteristics and may generate diverse transformational impacts, i.e. at first sight they may seem to ‘emphasize’ variations rather than similarities. However, they are also domains and catalysts of more coherent underlying changes unfolding in *actual domain* (Bhaskar, 1978; Tsoukas, 1989). Although these may remain less visible or obvious they are present in nearly all clusters of the explored case-communities as the following sub-chapter indicates.

3.2 The transformational impacts of communities

The observed clusters of case-communities are characterized by and are sources of more association-prone dynamism. This cooperative dynamics interplays with alterations affecting institutional and power dimensions, as well as work, cooperation and competition, value creation, resourcing, and social agency, and also the volunteer co-operators' individuation and empowerment¹⁶⁸. Consequently, the communities' dynamism¹⁶⁹ may generate feed backing and mutually catalytic transformational impacts, real (change) events unfolding in actual domain¹⁷⁰. These transformational impacts (Table N 6) are present in all five explored case-community clusters, although they might have diverse 'weight' in each of them due to their disparate characteristics.

TRANSFORMATIONAL IMPACTS

Changes affecting the community members'

Personal context:	Empowerment Individuation
Relationships:	Institutional changes Power relations
Activities:	Work Competition Value creation Resourcing Social agency
Alterations constituting the communities'	
self-transformation: (discussed in subchapter 3.4)	Networking self-upgrading New dialectics of cooperation

Table 6: Transformational impacts of the case-community clusters

The Neighbourhood Association in Arabianranta carried out transformations - often diverging and even occasionally heading into controversial directions while it successfully (re-)gained a focal role in self-empowerment of the local civil society. Therefore this Association may serve as a sample-case which facilitates to analyse the transformational impacts of the

¹⁶⁸ These multi-dimensional alterations interplay also with changes in (modalities of) structuration, which include transformation of domination into collaboration and simultaneous alterations affecting signification and legitimation. These aspects are discussed in details in subchapter 3.3.

¹⁶⁹ The thesis assumes that the communities' dynamism interplays with - brings about and is the resultant of - transformations, which affect simultaneously the members, their relationships, and the very communities by generating changes also in their broader environment.

¹⁷⁰ These are also constitutive of the interplay among continuous self-organizing and a re-configured, association-prone pattern of structuration. Their interplay serves as mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism unfolding in real domain as the subchapter 3.4 describes.

communities' dynamism. The multidimensional transformations which aggregated into feed backing change events and processes unfolding in actual domain interplayed with, partly were (constitutive of) the impacts of the Association's (changing) community dynamism. I.e. the exploration of these transformations may enable to analyse - the constituents of - the community dynamics. The following sections offer first a narrative account¹⁷¹ of the Neighbourhood Association's various transformations. This process narrative allows elaborating on - constructs of - various transformational impacts of the community dynamism unfolding in actual domain by subsequently discussing and 'scrutinizing' them also in broader context of various case-community clusters.

Narrative description of transformations - Neighbourhood Association

The Neighbourhood Association was established in Arabianranta district of Helsinki as umbrella organization of the local civil society. The development of Arabianranta was perceived and planned (from the 90's) as a large, decades-long pilot for complex, district-wide programmes following thematic approach. The complex image of Arabianranta combined components like art and design city, a high tech hub, and a XXI Century virtual village. In fact the program also served as a model for knowledge society developments at local level and its important task was to strengthen civil society. After 2006¹⁷² the district became also a Living Laboratory pilot for Helsinki and the metropolitan area.

The Art and Design City (ADC) Ltd. was established in 1997 as broad partnership embracing from residents till the government all stakeholders interested in and relevant for the district's development. The ADC served as a multipurpose service company, which carried out simultaneously program and project management, local economic development, and was also responsible to organize concrete services like provision of broadband connection for every apartment. The ADC's experts volunteered acting also as professional enablers¹⁷³ facilitating the residents' self-organization.

The Neighbourhood Association, established as umbrella organization of the local civil society, actively collaborated with professional enablers from ADC and with diverse stakeholders of the district's complex development program. In frame of an informal division

¹⁷¹ The process narratives are "process studies of organizing by narrating emergent actions and activities by which collective endeavours unfold"(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1387) which enable to carry out "...narrative describing a sequence of events on how development and change unfold (Poole et al. 2000)..." (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1380).

¹⁷² The Finnish EU presidency officially launched the Living Laboratories' pan-European network in 2006.

¹⁷³ The volunteer activity capitalized also on the director's personal motivation who was a resident of the district.

of labour the Association gradually re-focused its activity on arrangement of funding for large, biennial happenings - so called “villa parties”. In Arabianranta this event also aimed to promote the district’s image as “art and design city” in order to stimulate its rising tourism¹⁷⁴.

The Neighbourhood Association, primarily its board focused its activity on fundraising in order to mobilize the significant amounts required to finance these events. The Association gradually reduced its activity on mobilizing external financing, i.e. on fundraising carried out by the board members. Since its partners became various public and private donors and financial organizations the board had to fulfil multiple legal and financial obligations. The Association had to act on an organizational field, which in institutional dimension was characterised by dominance of zero-sum paradigm and by perception of resources as ‘per definition’ scarce. Exposed to powerful isomorphic institutional pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) the Association rapidly and imperceptibly was transformed into equilibrium seeking and hierarchical organization. “Today ...bureaucratization and other forms of organizational change occur as the result of processes that make organizations more similar without necessarily making them more efficient. Bureaucratization and other forms of homogenization emerge ...out of the structuration (Giddens, 1979) of organizational fields. ...highly structured organizational fields provide a context in which individual efforts to deal rationally with uncertainty and constraint often lead, in the aggregate, to homogeneity in structure, culture, and output” - as DiMaggio and Powell argue (1983:147).

The Association had to compete with many applicants for grants and subsidies and progressively lost its civil society organization feature and character - by following instead dominance-seeking and bureaucratic attitude characteristic for market and public sector entities. By participating in fierce competition its organization was (re-)shaped into hierarchical structures and mechanisms facilitating to follow rules and expectations of various donors. The board members - by focusing on fundraising activity - had ever less time and readiness to deal with issues of daily life of residents or even to connect with members of the Association. The communication between the board and the members of Association became growingly formal or ceremonial (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), gradually slowed down and even halted. This created enhanced misfit between the Association’s daily activities and the residents’ expectations therefore the residents stopped (attempts) to participate in the

¹⁷⁴ Around 500.000 visitors arrived yearly to Arabianranta who were mainly interested in art and design, and partly in the history – since this was the area where the ancient Helsinki was established in the XVI Century.

Association's daily work. Since the organization deprived itself from its most important and valuable resources, the board members became overloaded and with time they burned out.

In 2007 a self-organizing group of residents created a new association to facilitate - the long delayed - establishment of a district community house. When the group by proposing practical steps contacted the city authorities they suggested to liaising the Neighbourhood Association. Since the Association's board turned to be reluctant even to communicate, the group members started to criticise their 'powerholder' attitude. The initiative group urged to facilitate solution for issues of the residents' daily life instead of concentrating on ceremonial (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), biennial "large events". They proposed to refocus the Association's activity on supporting the residents' self-organizing efforts aiming to improve life quality in the district and they also emphasized the necessity of enhanced transparency.

"A: [it was long planned to establish a communal house called] Kendebaika ... [since nothing happened]...we formed the...Puhvila association to get it done ...to have...community spaces... that was...in 2007. ...the city answered to us that [since we] are not liable association [they aren't ready to] discuss this matter ...they said the Neighbourhood Association is...the legal representative for inhabitants of the area... we [should] discuss with Neighbourhood Association..."(100-20-29-5:41-50) - explains the coordinator of the group the reason of their attempts to liaise the Neighbourhood Association.

"A: ...[the board of]...Neighbourhood Association in the beginning of 2008 ...was totally "dead".... ...[they dealt only with the] huge villa parties in every second year... ...but nothing else happened...

Q: In between?

A: Yeah! ...they were exhausted because it is a huge work to organise those things... ...the former board was burned out in last villa party... So we thought that we are not going to make ever this kind of...

Q: formal, ceremonial things..."(100-20-29-5:464-478) - recalls the coordinator of the new board the situation in Neighbourhood Association when re-election of its board took place.

"A: ...the [board members acted similarly as the] ...Art and Design City Helsinki [the local service company did]. They wanted to keep the power and information... and then they...had to do everything by themselves because nobody else would know or have power to do things. [But] I think that [exactly] that is the main thing...

Q: Mobilize others...

A: And that is why....I am telling that that is the old way to do things..."(100-20-29-5:1137-1148) - elaborates on mistaken approach of previous board the Association's new coordinator.

When the activist group published an alternative program on its website their proposals created growing resonance and the initiatives rapidly became a popular topic of the residents'

self-communication¹⁷⁵. The upcoming elections to the board of Neighbourhood Association (in 2008) generated elevated interest. The residents vividly discussed potential directions of the Neighbourhood Association's future activities and the district's development trajectory. The residents appreciated and supported both the criticism and the proposals of the initiative group. Their majority was supportive and ready to contribute to volunteer cooperative efforts aiming to improve life quality in the district. These cooperation-prone tendencies interplayed with changes in the Neighbourhood Association. These alterations accelerated when participants of the initiative group became the Association's 'official members' despite the board's reluctance and attempts to delay and even prevent their membership. The group consistently implemented in practice the "unconditional primacy of transparency", their program's key principle. Their communicative interactions resonated with the resident's vivid self-communication by re-generating a cooperative atmosphere¹⁷⁶.

"A: ... the Neighbourhood Association [previously] was... closed and [un-transparent]...small group...

A: ...[which tried] keeping all [information] to them... It was for example very difficult to join to the Neighbourhood Association, which should be open association. I sent many angry notes that you have to give me your bank account number that I could pay...the fee to be a...member. This is open organization you have to give it! ...it was so closed....

Q: It was because they were afraid? Was it because they were tired?

A: They were totally tired"(100-20-29-5:1457-1475) - explains the new board's coordinator how and why the previous board tried to delay and prevent their "official membership".

The board members' reluctance to cooperate with, and their - failed - attempts to exclude the (participants of the) initiative group from the Association became apparent for the residents. As a consequence all seven participants of the group were elected into the renewed board of Neighbourhood Association. A "coup d'état in the sandbox" took place - upon self-ironic and apt expression of the new coordinator. The rearrangement of the board's personal composition facilitated in multiple ways the spread of self-organizing interactions among residents.

The new board focused on consequent implementation of the program which they proposed previously as an initiative group. Since they were critical regarding the way and effectiveness of the ADC experts' voluntary professional enabling, the new board took over and carried out systematically orchestration, facilitation, and matchmaking. They catalysed spectacular increase in the residents' self-organizing activities what boosted also the (volume of)

¹⁷⁵ The coordinator of group acted also as e-Housekeeper, i.e. volunteer coordinator of the website of their house.

¹⁷⁶ The developed local information-communication system providing broadband access served as catalyst.

available resources. The board members agreed on their first meeting to stop applying for grants and subsidies - with exception for financing trainings. They decided to focus instead on mobilization of locally available resources.

“A: ...we started in beginning of 2008... We [decided]...that we do things by ourselves and [will] not wait to get funding or support...from the city... ...the traditional way [is] to ask money and then if you got money you can start to do [something]... We started to do things ...we tried [and we realized] that we don't need money to most of things. [We always asked:] What is the way that [with available] resources we can make ...it happen? That was very important line and we are doing it all the time now...”(100-20-29-5:1671-1677) - describes the coordinator of the new board their decision to focus on the resources available locally.

The members of the new board systematically contacted all local players convincing them to give information about their activities, plans, initiatives, successes and failures. They ‘prayed’ transparency by focusing on its ‘unconditional primacy’ by generating abundant information flow. It revealed many activities unfolding in the district of which the residents previously remained unaware. The regular information led to growing participation and many new initiatives. The two communal houses that the new board promoted to establish rapidly became overbooked by various activities¹⁷⁷.

By learning about the residents’ interest to better know each other¹⁷⁸ the board systematically orchestrated local happenings. They supported proposals if and when the initiators were ready to actively participate in practical preparation of the events by providing free admission for everybody. This approach facilitated many “localized” happenings from regular recycling events till film festivals and dance evenings - often taking place right at the houses’ doorsteps¹⁷⁹. The board established and consequently broadened cooperation with the two neighbouring districts Toukola and Vanhakaupunki, their residents were always welcomed on any happenings in Arabianranta. The new board encouraged and supported local groups and organizations to establish and widen “external” contacts and collaboration. The vivid networking facilitated to access also significant amount of resources.

¹⁷⁷ The board successfully “launched” the “Kendebaika” community house “Q: Just not to forget you originally wanted to have access to the building. Will you success to change the attitude? A: We should open on September 11”(100-20-29-5:417-420).

¹⁷⁸ Since the residents wished to discuss issues related to security in the district the new board organized a workshop. The participants indicated the importance of better know each other that stimulated the board to orchestrate many small local events helping residents to become acquainted. (Since the residents proposed changes in rules of traffic and in street lighting the board cooperated with responsible council employees to arrange them in practice.)

¹⁷⁹ The recycling events took place on 18 various places in the district simultaneously.

The growingly cooperative atmosphere interplayed with the residents' readiness and motivation to participate and contribute. The board carried out systematic matchmaking among potential partners by supporting to launch new initiatives. This approach allowed anticipating and handling challenges when hundreds of youngsters became teenagers by trying to establish their (young) adult personality¹⁸⁰. The signals from parents' associations and teachers allowed preparing and launching the district's "big project" aiming to maintain good relationships among youngsters and their parents. The program successfully generated initiatives similar to special soccer trainings where kids and parents learned primarily to cooperate with each other during trainings with help of professional coaches. The "second grandparents" movement of the Active Seniors Association aimed to establish trustful relationships with their 'second grandchildren'¹⁸¹. It aimed to help to establish and improve relations also among 'second' grandparents and 'real' parents by improving contacts among various generations and the residents in general.

The new board paid special attention to identify and train future leaders of the local civil society and the Neighbourhood Association. Following a workshop discussing the district's future strategy volunteers working in small, two person teams started to systematically identify, check and describe local best practices. They produced "manuals", which could be used also as learning material in frame of training programs for potential future leaders¹⁸² and enabled to establish a local knowledge repository.

The broadening of self-organizing tendencies capitalized also on changes unfolding in the wider environment of Arabianranta. The open innovation and Living Laboratories related tendencies became important components of new development strategies of the Metropolitan area and its local councils, as well as of the national information society strategies¹⁸³. These generated enhanced attention to open innovation and promotion of the citizen's self-organizing. Following the official 'roll out' of the (pan-European) network in 2006 Arabianranta started to act also as a Living Laboratory. The rapid decrease of previously generous budgetary financing of local innovative efforts in aftermath of the 2008 financial

¹⁸⁰ Many young families moved to Arabianranta starting from the early 2000s and the average birth rate was also higher than in other parts of the capital.

¹⁸¹ Second grandparents attended the open soccer trainings and the dialogues with their second grandchildren had very favourable effects also on relationships among the teenagers and their „real” parents...

¹⁸² The trainings for the future leaders they organized in cooperation with the two closest neighbourhoods and later together with the head-organization of the Helsinki neighbourhoods.

¹⁸³ These trends became important constituents of efforts to overhaul large and complex regional and national innovation ecosystems by capitalizing on open innovation.

crisis strengthened the focus shift on self-organizing. The launching of two new complex and thematic district development programs in Kalasatama and Jatkasaary increased the work load of ADC experts who became responsible to transfer good practices from Arabianranta.

These feed backing tendencies catalysed the residents' self-organizing mass collaboration by facilitating an overarching model shift in Arabianranta. For a decade the district was the domain of a Scandinavian variant, a welfare society related (externally) structured self-organization model that Leadbeater (2006) described¹⁸⁴. The professional enabling catalysed the districts' successful development and brought about multidimensional changes strengthening the local civil society, generating the emergence of its new capabilities. These tendencies were amplified when the Neighbourhood Association took over the systematic professional enabling of mass self-organizing.

"A: ...I am enjoying what kind of things we can do with that Neighbourhood Association... ..it seems like some kind of Alice in Wonderland...that you can do [so many good things] with ...very small, limited power which we have...as representatives [of the] inhabitants of this area... ..we can do so many things with it..."(100-20-29-5-550-554).

"A: ...I am so happy. That I can help people ...to come together and then they will go on. We don't even know it. It's so wonderful and amazing"(100-20-29-5:748-754) - sums up the coordinator of the new board of the Association the positive effects and outcome of their efforts to act as professional enablers and orchestrators of the residents' self-organizing.

The (re-)transformation of the Neighbourhood Association into active umbrella organization, the systematic professional enabling catalysed a rapid increase in the residents' self-organizing. The growing activity of the local civil society was simultaneously an important driver and a determining component of an emerging new development model. The self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006) swiftly and almost imperceptibly replaced the previously dominant (externally) structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006), which generated rather paternalistic, top-down tendencies. The changes were accompanied with emotions in personal and organizational context:

"A: ...I think that the worst, the ugliest, the not so nice situation was something like 2-3 years ago when ...many people...made ...their own association... I have found out ...that was the teen age time... It was difficult to me to understand that they are struggling because they want to make it as their own. Because this was my creation for me it was difficult to understand that I have to let it go. ...it is not any more my decision or my creation - it's something they are now creating by themselves. That was for me lesson to learn and hard to understand. OK

¹⁸⁴ In frame of structured self-organization - which Leadbeater (2006) describes by analysing the impressive success story of the Brazilian city, Curitiba - local authorities through systematic professional enabling generated and orchestrated the residents' self-organizing efforts. The enhanced participation of civil society and various players from the neighbourhood actively catalysed and contributed to local development.

this is the way. It goes and you have to let it go. You have to understand that it is normal. ...This is like teenage time ...I can't understand that. Can't go like...And it's terrible..."(100-20-3-5:1156-1163) - confesses the coordinator of volunteering professional enablers difficulties to say goodbye to structured self-organization and its often rather paternalist approaches.

"A: ...moderators [of the houses web-sites]...have discussed...what we can do with...discussion board? ...there is no...registration... [Seemingly] those meetings...have power to decide...[but officially nobody] would communicate...decisions... made by the moderators. ...the Art and design city Helsinki and Kari Halinen are that old way power keeper...limiting information... They are telling what...is good for [ADC] ...I am totally different...personally... The Neighbourhood Association was very closed organization before we came there. ...our first [decision] was that it has to be very transparent...all information and all actions has to be [published]...on the web-page. So [one] can be ...part and can influence things...concerning the inhabitants of this areawe do like that all the time. ...[ADC] is a totally different type of organization. It's like a part of the city... it should not [interfere] because they are slowing down things... ...I like Kari Halinen. We have done many things together. I think that [ADC]...is a very important company for this area. But there are ...different...methods to do things. And I think that ...we [the Neighbourhood Association] have a kind of huge place to fill up. To pick up...information and give people that...information...ask people to come to work groups, to involve [them] and give them voice in things which are concerning...their lifethat is why we have huge influence in this area because of that kind of hole...

Q: So you are for participative democracy and Kari Halinen is more representative democracy framed person?

A: Yeah!"(100-20-29-5:340-365) - explains the moderator of the new board differences in approaches of the Neighbourhood Association and the (experts of) the ADC.

The seamless shift in activities of Neighbourhood Association and the local civil society as a whole allowed quick emergence of a new pattern of local division of labour:

"A: [our relationship with ADC] goes with waves, because, we are also very demanding in certain things... we have also crises sometimes, but we still are talking. Now it comes closer...

Q: So the relationships are not "flat", emotions play their roles...

A: Yeah!...we are...quite well filling different...holes together. ...it's...good combination...

Q: The different capacities can complement each other if you can properly combine them?

A: Yeah!"(100-20-29-5:602-614) - admits the effectiveness of an altered pattern of division of labour in the district the coordinator of the new board of Neighbourhood Association.

The decade long structured self-organization created in Arabianranta outcomes, which one can describe through simple correlations among a few attributes¹⁸⁵. According to norms of the district development program one percent of expenses had to be spent on establishing pieces of art across the district. The second, so called "fibre" rule prescribed to provide access to broadband for all residents starting from early 2000s. The provision of improving connectivity could have comparable expenses as (implementation of) the art rule.

¹⁸⁵ These findings capitalise on experience of both the professional enablers from ADC and also the new board of the Neighbourhood Association.

These “initial investments” generated collaborative and trustful relationships among residents and their partners. Besides systematic extension and upgrading of cooperation with the two closest neighbourhoods the various players of local civil society intensely collaborated also with multiple interested partners from many countries around the world. I.e. the strong social capital enabled to extend the radius of trust beyond the district boundaries even “to a global reach”. There were circa 80 volunteers - from approximately 8000 residents - who systematically contributed to efforts aiming to catalyse self-organizing collaboration: i.e. 1 % of residents belonged to the core, the most active enablers. These observations re-confirm the “Wikipedia-rule” (Jarvis, 2009:60) indicating that 1 % of users are the most active contributors¹⁸⁶. Consequently a simple formula can ‘describe’ the program outcome compared with characteristic components of resourcing:

1 % for art + 1 % for “fibre” -> 1 % (rate of intense) participation

The pervasive presence of art and culture and the residents’ enhanced connectivity interplayed with improving relationships. Upon expressive and striking formulation of coordinators of volunteering professional enablers it brought about “plus ten percent” tolerance compared to other districts of Helsinki¹⁸⁷. This enhanced tolerance and readiness to cooperate contributed to a trajectory of local developments characterized also by obvious improvements in life quality. I.e. an interplay among enhanced (i) tolerance, (ii) participation and (iii) collaboration brought about (iv.) significant improvements in life quality. In other words, these tendencies facilitated to create abundant stock of social capital (Fukuyama, 1999) by catalysing highly cooperative atmosphere and relational dynamism - as ‘return on investments’ in art and connectivity. This constellation suggests another simple formula indicating:

1 % art + 1 % “fibre” + 1 % participation -> +10 % tolerance + [y] % life quality increase

These feed backing and catalytic tendencies promoted to accumulate social capital and value by generating collaborative, mutually caring relationships, and safe atmosphere, by improving life quality and creating associational advantage in the district. This constellation became a widely known and appreciated “hallmark” of Arabianranta that was spread and amplified through “word of mouth” by creating also growing demand on the apartments. I.e. the

¹⁸⁶ That seems to be an optimal proportion; because either a significant decrease or increase of their number could negatively impact the effectiveness of the cooperation (Jarvis, 2009).

¹⁸⁷ Both the director of the local service company and the coordinator of the new board of the Neighbourhood Association view the enhanced tolerance as major - even the biggest - achievement. This congruent evaluation is remarkable given the fact that regarding many issues their opinions are diametrically opposing.

accumulation of social capital and value brought about an increase in economic, market value “instantiated” in growing real estate prices. What could be the ratio between “capitalization” measured in social and market capital may be worth of further exploration. Anyway this constellation suggests another simple formula indicating:

+10 % tolerance + [y] % life quality increase -> [X] % economic added value

The overview of events and processes constitutive of multiple, sometimes controversial (self-) transformations of the Neighbourhood Association enables to go beyond above described primary quantitative correlations and to carry out more in-depth qualitative analysis of the community dynamism in order to identify underlying transformational impacts. The following section elaborates on most salient constructs of the communities’ transformational dynamism by re-examining real events unfolding in actual domain.

Transformational impacts of community dynamism

The Neighbourhood Association’s focus on fundraising generated its transformation or rather deformation into quasi-equilibrium seeking hierarchy, which led to growing dissatisfaction and indifference to its activity among members of local civil society. However, the residents’ disinterest and passivity were rapidly replaced with growing criticism toward the Association and its board due to the activity of a small initiative group. This self-organizing team capitalized on good accessibility, since the district’s state-of-the-art information-communication technology network¹⁸⁸ enabled the residents’ vivid self-communication (Castells, 2009). The group published on their web-site a program which emphasized the importance of “unconditional primacy of transparency” and urged to (re-)transform the Association into a catalyst of the residents’ self-organizing mass cooperation. The residents supported these proposals and demonstrated their readiness to volunteer and cooperate. Their lively dialogues indicated the presence and robust effects of association-prone institutional trends - as the next part discusses in details.

Institutional changes bringing about trust

The transformations of the Neighbourhood Association were intertwined with cooperative trends characterising the underlying institutional settings. The Association’s alterations ‘heading’ to diverging, occasionally even opposing each other’s directions were connected with robust institutional isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) possessing

¹⁸⁸ High-speed Internet connection was accessible in every apartment from the early 2000s.

changing character. I.e. institutional changes played significant role in both the shift of the focus of the Association's activity on fundraising for large events, as well as later on its 'retransformation' into the umbrella organization of the local civil society.

In the first case the board members were under growing pressure to perform in a tough competition for grants and funding. The organizational field where the Association started to act was characterized by the "winner takes all" approach. In institutional dimension it forced the board members to follow zero-sum logic and resource scarcity view which excluded attempts to search cooperation or create mutual advantage. By contrast, the emerging initiative group of residents promoted association-prone institutional trends and argued for enhancing cooperation in order to improve life quality by focusing on locally available resources. The group promoted association-prone institutional settings¹⁸⁹ that proved to reflect the residents' expectations and received their support and which catalysed and capitalized on institutional primacy of non-zero sum approach allowing overcoming resource scarcity view. The residents' association-prone 'inclination' in institutional and relational dimensions played important catalytic role during elections by facilitating personal reconfiguration of the board of Neighbourhood Association. The initiative group's participants became elected board members and accelerated association-prone changes by launching the Association's retransformation into active umbrella organization of the local civil society.

The new board decided on its first meeting to stop applying for external funding and to re-focus on local issues and locally available resources. This decision by terminating fundraising simultaneously abolished also the previous 'classical' isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). This shift was intertwined with profound association-prone institutional changes enabling to overcome the twin-dominance and self-fulfilling prophecy of zero-sum approach and resource scarcity view¹⁹⁰. Both the initiative group and the new board could capitalize on robust, underlying cooperative trends characterizing the local civil society, which created and constituted 'non-typical', association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures. The interplaying changes that transformed the Neighbourhood Association

¹⁸⁹ These underlying institutional trends played significant role in transformations although they could remain tacit or partly unconscious for many residents.

¹⁹⁰ This institutional shift allowed focusing on professional enabling of cooperative efforts increasing the effectiveness of resourcing and broadening the collective resource base.

capitalised on the institutional twin-primacy of non-zero-sum approach and interdependence and simultaneously catalysed their strengthening.

Consequently, the robust association-prone character of the institutional dimension was simultaneously the source and the outcome of the resident's cooperative inclination or strong collaborative habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) interplaying with their open, tolerant, and cooperative relationships. The members of the local civil society organizations wanted to socialize by co-creating social value and wealth. The association-prone institutional tendencies' increasing presence and primacy interplayed with the residents' readiness to voluntary cooperation aiming to improve life quality by co-creating associational advantage. This constellation followed the empowering logic of social capital accumulation¹⁹¹ instead of seeking competitive advantage upon commodifying logic of economic capital accumulation (Sewell, 1992). This association-prone context interplays with specific role and growing importance of wealth in human relations¹⁹² and an - at least tacit - awareness that the wealth has strongly subjective character¹⁹³ and "...is not...zero-sum game"¹⁹⁴ type.

The strong cooperative character of institutional-relational dimensions in the district interplayed with, and also amplified atypical, association-prone isomorphic institutional tendencies which could reshape 'locally' the character and change the direction of institutional isomorphism. The termination of the fundraising simultaneously stopped previous robust institutional isomorphic pressures that had deformed the Association into equilibrium-seeking bureaucratic hierarchy. Moreover, the new board's activities - especially the professional enabling of mass-level cooperation - capitalized on and also amplified altered, association-prone institutional isomorphic tendencies.

The strong and increasing association-prone character of the institutional dimension simultaneously facilitated and capitalized on the Neighbourhood Association's rapid (re-)

¹⁹¹ The logic of social capital accumulation focuses on improving life quality by increasing the effectiveness of resourcing, i.e. co-creating associational advantage. These tendencies capitalize on growing presence and primacy of association-prone institutional-relational trends.

¹⁹² The important distinction between human and material wealth explains Marx (1858, 1993) in *Grundrisse*.

¹⁹³ While the original meaning of the old English word 'weal' simultaneously includes well-being, prosperity and happiness it lacks a single or broadly accepted definition partly due to its subjective character.

¹⁹⁴ "There is not a limited amount of wealth in the world that must change hands from one person to another. One person's wealth creation does not conversely result in another person's loss of wealth. Your wealth creation is limited only by your willingness to imagine, innovate and accomplish" <http://bizshifts-trends.com/2012/03/26/wealth-wealth-creation-wealth-enhancement-exposing-the-secrets-for-building-wealth-well-there-are-no-secrets-really/> <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/wealth>

transformation into active umbrella organization of the local civil society. The related switches interplayed with the residents' vivid self-communication¹⁹⁵ enacting and simultaneously also reproducing association-prone institutional settings instantiated in their voluntary cooperative relationships. I.e. the interacting volunteers carried out self-communication by enacting association-prone institutional settings serving, operating as social capital, as "...informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals... [These norms are] instantiated in an actual human relationship... [and generate] trust... [which is] epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself" (Fukuyama, 1999:1). I.e. this *association-prone* institutional(-relational) constellation was intertwined with the *institutional settings*' simultaneous transformations into *social capital*¹⁹⁶ by shaping also the patterns of their enactment. The abundant social capital generated mutual *trust* among volunteering co-operators and extended its radius (Fukuyama, 1999) by catalysing the residents' relationships' trustful character in multiple ways¹⁹⁷. The mutual advancement of trust was crucial also for the residents' (self-) communication, since the lack of trust could block to communicate (Luhmann, 1995a)¹⁹⁸. The outspread or actual range of communicative interactions and their sustainability were dependent to a significant degree on the level and radius of trust¹⁹⁹, i.e. the (strength of) trustful character of the participants' relationships.

The mutual advancement of trust is imperative to start to communicate (Luhmann, 1995a), while the level and radius of trust 'regulate' the content and range of communication, i.e. may facilitate or limit to share trusted information (Stahle, 2009). "A person who shares a lot of trust also enhances his or her scope of action... Trust is not based on reported factual information, but information serves as an indicator of trust..." - points out Stahle (2009:17). The success of communication is dependent on trust - and in turn it is potentially trust-creating and enhancing. Communicative interactions may (re-)generate social capital by re-

¹⁹⁵ The self-communication was the aggregations of their intertwined intra-and inter-personal dialogues carrying out sense and decision making (Stacey, 2000, 2010).

¹⁹⁶ The enacted institutional settings' association-prone character, its "strength" in turn could affect and shape the patterns of their enactment. The interacting volunteers by enacting them simultaneously (re-) created these settings or structures (Giddens, 1984) and (re-)generated and enhanced mutual trust among volunteers.

¹⁹⁷ This institutional constellation facilitated the residents' readiness to provide contributions to cooperative efforts also unilaterally, i.e. without waiting or requesting immediate and direct reciprocation or compensation. The interplay between abundance of social capital and trustful relationships enabled the parallel, distributed, and mutually adaptive contributions' aggregation following open-ended and multi-party character.

¹⁹⁸ In fact the lack of trust would prevent even to start to communicate (Luhmann, 1995a).

¹⁹⁹ "All groups embodying social capital have a certain radius of trust, that is, the circle of people among whom cooperative norms are operative"- indicates Fukuyama (1999).

creating and strengthening trust among participants, while the miscommunication, interruption, or lack of communication potentially diminish and undermine trust. The self-communication (Castells, 2009) may create awareness of belonging to a large virtual community of same-thinkers²⁰⁰. It may also facilitate readiness to publicly represent innovative, “dissident thoughts” by creating their visibility, and acceptance and also generating and accelerating association-prone institutional changes.

“A: ...you can see it on Facebook... I have been really surprised that my middle age friends ...are...nowadays concerned about things...they weren’t before. ...people are actually interested in these...questions ...maybe...before ...were afraid to ...discuss...

Q: You felt alone...

A: Yes, yes. But now they see that I’m not the only one who’s thinking like this. And even that director ...or that professor is thinking so ...I can also think like that. And say it. So that’s also a kind of empowerment ...people...come to the Internet and say that this is not right”(100-20-6-5:440-450) - describes the former coordinator of Finnish national knowledge society program how self-communication may create awareness of ongoing institutional changes by simultaneously accelerating them.

The capability of self-communication unfolding often through social networks may serve as effective tool and channel mobilizing volunteer co-operators in many fields including e-Health or city planning. It may request and capitalize on the enactment of effective and trusted interfaces between civil society players and operators of official data and knowledge bases. Such trusted interfaces may be crucial also in case of natural disasters or emergencies in order to enable direct communication between citizens and official agencies and bodies:

“A: ...the challenge [in connection with]...citizen participation...is that...you have the official systems and official opinions and ...lots of information from people... ...to match this information generated by citizens with the information...stored and managed in...official systems is a big challenge. In...extreme situations like disaster...where the people ...know exactly what’s the case ...you should be able to create very quickly citizen-driven information services that...complement...official ...[sources created by] the police...firefighters...military ...this was the [challenge also after the] Sichuan earthquake...in China”(100-20-10-5:55-66) - explains the professor of Helsinki University having extended practical experience in enhancing communicative actions through Living Laboratories.

Consequently, the association-prone (shifts in) institutional dimension may facilitate to advance trust (mutually) by enabling and generating a predisposition to communicate,

²⁰⁰ The “...mass self-communication...multiplies and diversifies the entry points in the communication process. This gives rise to unprecedented autonomy for communicative subjects to communicate at large. Yet, this potential for autonomy is shaped, controlled, and curtailed by the growing concentration and interlocking of corporate media and network operators around the world. Global multimedia business networks (including government-owned media)...integrate the networks..., platforms...and channels of communication in their multilayered organizations, while setting up switches of connection to the networks of capital, politics, and cultural production...”(Castells, 2009:135).

cooperate, and share. The association-prone institutional settings can (i) facilitate their (own) reproduction or regeneration through communication, and simultaneously catalyse (ii) trust, (iii) the volunteers' self-communication, (iv.) interactions, and (v.) resourcing efforts. I.e. the association-prone institutional settings could serve as soft organizing platforms - as discussed in details below. The cooperative institutional context facilitates trust-creation which has focal role to unleash the robust potential that social networks and, in a broader sense, various patterns of self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006) may offer²⁰¹.

The acceptance of robust association-prone institutional settings is catalysed simultaneously by awareness of both the positive outcomes of cooperation and the negative consequences of dominance-seeking competition²⁰². I.e. it is connected with awareness of growing collective 'costs' of competitive dominance-seeking limiting, diminishing, damaging collective resource base, and generating growing multidimensional unsustainability. It may also explain why association-prone institutional constellations are capable to bring about trustful relationships and enable cooperation despite robust competitive tendencies and dominance-seeking characteristics of social fields²⁰³. The institutional primacy of non-zero sum approach feeds back with - although frequently only tacit - acceptance of the interdependence and the asymmetry of responsibilities and capabilities. Members of life sharing communities often recognise also explicitly the importance of interdependence in institutional dimension²⁰⁴.

"A: ...the human being is a spiritual being ...its development ...is to become more and more conscious... [to gain] self-consciousness ...for instance responsibility...belongs there.

Q: Responsibility towards whom?

A: To another human being, to nature and everything...

Q: ...this responsibility consequently has quite social character. It's not only self-responsibility, but it is related to surrounding society and physical environment.

A: Yes, because ...a human being is an individual ...we need ...freedom. But we are also social beings; we cannot develop without each other... ..and...responsibility...is all the time [present too] ...It is not either or, either freedom or responsibility, it is all the time both ...together"(100-20-4-5:361-371) - emphasizes a coordinator of Silvia koti the indivisibility of human freedom and responsibility.

²⁰¹ They may enact also collaborative and sharing efforts unfolding in and through virtual space. As the "gated-access approach" of LinkedIn exemplifies conscious generation of trustful relations and trusted networks may have growing significance for virtual communities. Also Living Laboratories may facilitate to establish trusted networks enabling sharing and by shaping cooperative relationships.

²⁰² A section below discusses in details various aspects of – changes in – competition.

²⁰³ The cooperation may have advantages compared to competition also by following rational choice as discussed below.

²⁰⁴ The "theoretical acceptance" of interdependence in a broad sense implies awareness of variations in capabilities and differences in multiple aspects including - responsibilities in creating - sustainability.

The association-prone institutional settings may enable to generate and enact the potential of creating “multiple wins” or mutual advantages by combining diverse fields, ways, and methods to fulfil various, often high level needs of volunteer co-operators. The self-communication (Castells, 2009) may catalyse growing awareness of the collective capability to bring about mutual advantage generating motivation and enhancing readiness to collaborate by creating “multiple wins” - as participants of life sharing communities²⁰⁵ frequently explicitly indicate:

A: ...if your main idea is...to find new ways of delivering...[public] services ...organizing the whole process...with end-users...it might be...more democratic way of doing it.

Q: ...it's more democratic and also somewhat more efficient. Even the quality could be increased because the motivation is very high ...the end-user is motivated, the service co-creator and ...the service provider is also motivated... it's a multi-layered interplay...

A: Win-win-win-win...”(100-20-2-5:515-524) - indicates the expert at Laurea Living Laboratory the importance and utility to find points and mechanisms of mutual advantage.

To achieve reciprocal advantage frequently may require significant efforts and even willingness of making sacrifices, as the expert from Silvia koti points out:

“A: Day after day you work there... ..doing this work...connected with quite difficult children or...adults ...and [you] just do it... There must be some kind of knowledge inside you that you have been invited to that work. And you realize that it is your own development process in this life”(100-20-4-5:390-396) - explains the coordinator in Silvia koti how mutual advantages may re-create the motivation of the volunteering care givers.

The association-prone dynamics in institutional dimension may generate abundance of social capital enhancing mutual trust and facilitating readiness to voluntary cooperation. The collaboration may co-create and share resources by improving the effectiveness of collective resourcing, i.e. it may enable to ‘increase the pie’ in multiple ways instead of fighting for dominance and control over the possible biggest ‘slices’. The self-communication may catalyse to re-create simultaneously both an enhanced association-prone institutional constellation bringing about such positive outcome and also the participants’ awareness of it. Such awareness of mutual advantage in turn generates and maintains predisposition and readiness to cooperate by replacing inclination to dominance-seeking competition. I.e. association-prone institutional constellations may facilitate switches to cooperation-seeking by enabling to overcome the “dominance of dominance seeking”.

However, the implementation of association-prone institutional settings may have limitations mainly in external aspects. In connection with ‘non-members’, ‘externals’ the attitudes may

²⁰⁵ Such awareness played significant role also for initiators of legislative change in Turku Living Laboratory.

remain driven primarily by competitive dominance-seeking, in line with perceptions characterising the broader environment. Be it a network of global cities, as in case of Helsinki, or (regional-national) market of vegetables for farmers in Mórahalom, the volunteer co-operators' environment often is "dominated by dominance seeking" where mutual advantage is more an exception than rule. I.e. the aim of the co-operators may remain in external context frequently to gain competitive advantage, to dominate and control available largest volumes of resources.

Such controversial institutional(-relational) tendencies are permanently present and especially strong in the sharing transformations cluster. While volunteer co-operators follow the institutional twin-primacy of non-zero sum approach and interdependence and look for mutual advantage²⁰⁶, the market players by contrast have to tackle multiple challenges in institutional dimension. While participating in cooperative efforts also the market players have to follow association-prone institutional settings and they have to (re-)generate the trust of their partners. However, subsequently they have to deploy business models enabling to (re-)transform the outcomes of cooperative pursuits into profitable patterns. I.e. they have to follow the twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view in order to achieve profit optimization through competitive dominance-seeking.

Such "duality" in institutional dimension, however, may have un-favourable consequences like it happened in case of the farmers' Living Laboratory efforts on the Turku Archipelago. Despite their growing awareness of potential advantages generating their readiness to collaborate²⁰⁷ they failed to achieve due level of association-prone, trust-creating institutional trends or at least to make them sustainable. Although their cooperation with improved collective resource access promised personal advantages the institutional dominance of zero sum approach and resource scarcity view became self-fulfilling prophecy and led to the failure of open innovation efforts²⁰⁸.

The transformations of the Neighbourhood Association demonstrate the significance of the interplay among the association-prone character of institutional dimension, the creation and

²⁰⁶ Independently, whether they interact in communities or various non-traditional work patterns such as Living Laboratories or peer-production the volunteers prefer to fulfil real needs instead of "boosting consumption".

²⁰⁷ The farmers explicitly requested professional enablers to act as trusted intermediary and facilitate trust creation by elevating their cooperation to higher level (100-20-24-5:507-515).

²⁰⁸ Identical pattern appeared in Veresegyház where project managers followed zero-sum paradigm.

maintenance of trust, and the (self-)communication. The diverse community-clusters also re-confirm that the association-prone institutional tendencies facilitate to (re-)create - and extend the radius of - trust, and generate social capital. The mutually catalytic interplay among association-prone institutional trends, trust creation and self-communication may feedback with similar tendencies also in other dimensions including - association-prone tendencies in - power relations as the next part discusses.

Association-prone transformations of power

The new board members of the Neighbourhood Association acted as enabling leaders, delivered “leadership with word” (Plowman et al, 2007) by affecting and shaping meaning and perceptions. Instead of manage people and events they orchestrated emergent visions and developments by influencing meaning, perceptions and expectations by facilitating association-prone institutional changes. They promoted the emergence and upgrading of institutional-relational platforms catalysing the residents’ cooperative interactions and their aggregation into self-organizing²⁰⁹.

Since the residents’ appreciated the consequent activity of the Neighbourhood Association’s new board it created the capability to “affect in case of necessity”, i.e. brought about an informal, non-hierarchical, quasi-meritocratic power. This power was increased by the board conscious refrainment to use it - at least in sense of “traditional” approach to power perceived as domination and control. I.e. the board gained and exercised power, which had associational, horizontal, shared and sharing character. Since such integrative power or ‘power with’ - as Kreisberg (1992) coins it - is non-zero sum, it could be strengthened or increased through sharing by simultaneously enabling the cooperating community members’ mutual empowerment²¹⁰.

²⁰⁹ Enabling leaders facilitate also engagement into non-linear processes (Plowman et al. 2007a) allowing multiplying - locally available - resources and facilitating to upgrade the resource base by combining ‘soft’, multipliable and also traditional resources.

²¹⁰ “Researchers and practitioners call this aspect of power “relational power”(Lappe & DuBois, 1994), generative power (Korten, 1987), “integrative power,” and “power with” (Kreisberg, 1992). This aspect means that gaining power actually strengthens the power of others rather than diminishing it such as occurs with domination/power. Kreisberg has suggested that power defined as “the capacity to implement” (Kreisberg, 1992:57) is broad enough to allow power to mean domination, authority, influence, and shared power or “power with.” It is this definition of power, as a process that occurs in relationships, that gives us the possibility of empowerment”(Page and Czuba, 1999:3).

For volunteers hierarchical patterns of power aiming at domination and control are basically unacceptable²¹¹. Their horizontal perception of power is intertwined with institutional primacy of non-zero-sum approach. This constellation replaces the interplay between (i) power as domination over and control of other people - often seen as ‘masses’ - and (ii) the institutional dual primacy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. Therefore the new board of the Association consequently implemented horizontal or lateral approach to power preventing attempts to create (the appearance of hierarchies of) domination and control over others²¹². They systematically impeded also attempts to appropriate and monopolize ‘high sounding’ titles what allowed keeping away ‘title hunters’ frequently following second agendas instead of promoting collective good.

This perception fed back also with the board’s efforts aiming to guarantee the “modularity of contributions” (Benkler, 2011), i.e. the systematic distribution and transformation of work and power²¹³. This approach allowed easy and effective implementation of tasks and facilitated to carry out volunteer contributions aggregating into empowering, liberated and liberating non-wage work²¹⁴. It created a constellation, which was motivating and empowering, increasing all volunteer participants’ power. I.e. members of the new board acted as “level 5” or “servant leaders” (Greenleaf, 1970:6) who “measure...success as leaders by assessing the growth of...followers”(Mook et al., 2015:199). They were keen to “provide power” to anybody who was ready and willing to exercise it in favour of the local civil society:

“A: We have ...the ideology that if somebody wants responsibility and power we will give... ..as much as we can give power and possibility...to everybody who wants it. That is almost ground principle [as well as] ...transparency.

Q: And you work together with your neighbours... Because ...you feel that capacities, resources will be better used if you are joining your efforts”(100-20-29-5:655-661).

“A: I can help people... come together and then they will go on... It’s so wonderful and amazing...We don’t even know [about most things that happen]...”(100-20-29-5:1748-1753).

“A: ...we can...[facilitate to achieve] so many things... ..it seems like kind of “Alice in Wonderland” that you can do with this very small, limited power, which we have...as representatives of [residents in] this area ...I am enjoying what kind of things we can do with

²¹¹ In organizations similar to voluntary firefighters the hierarchical power structures may be present and temporally accepted.

²¹² The initiative group criticised previous board - and the local service company - to behave as old fashioned “power holders”, i.e. trying to dominate and control, acting at intransparent manner, limiting (access to) information by slowing down voluntary activities.

²¹³ The section below discussing resourcing from locally available sources elaborates on modularity of contributions.

²¹⁴ “A: ...Trying to [divide] responsibilities and power in small pieces ...[has] two reasons ...they don’t exhaust you. ...Because this is freewill [contribution]... We are not even call it work... it comes from passion... and we think that it has to be fun... ..that can give back you at least as much as you give”(100-10-29-5:668-673) explains the coordinator of the new board of the Neighbourhood Association.

the Neighbourhood Association”(100-20-29-5:550-554) - describes the coordinator of new board of Neighbourhood Association the ‘powerful effects of power sharing’.

These changes affected the very essence of power by provoking its ‘disappearance’ in traditional, hierarchical, ‘command and control’ sense. They facilitated to overcome disempowering perceptions such as viewing individuals as “units of mass”²¹⁵. The facilitation of cooperative enactment of horizontal, shared power enabled mutual empowerment by catalysing the volunteers to become genuine ‘power holders’ instead of being ‘subjects of power’. This approach was diametrically opposite to the traditional view seeing power as the capability to influence others “regardless of their own wishes or interests” (Weber, 1946). The board promoted a dynamic attitude, facilitated change and dynamism. It allowed overcoming traditional, static approach to power as of having “eternal”, unchanging and unchangeable character and even “having a tendency” to be independent from human action (Lips, 1991).

The power sharing provided empowerment in the life sharing cluster²¹⁶ as well as in frame of e-Democracy and participation focused efforts in Aba²¹⁷. I.e. the empirical data confirm the indications of power related research analysing primarily the civil society and its organizations. It “...has opened new perspectives that reflect aspects of power that are not zero-sum, but are shared. Feminists (Miller, 1976; Starhawk, 1987), members of grassroots organizations (Bookman and Morgen, 1984), racial and ethnic groups (Nicola-McLaughlin and Chandler, 1984), and even individuals in families bring into focus another aspect of power, one that is characterized by collaboration, sharing and mutuality (Kreisberg, 1992). Researchers and practitioners call this aspect of power “relational power” (Lappe and DuBois, 1994), “generative power” (Korten, 1987), “integrative power”, and “power with” (Kreisberg, 1992). [The]...power defined as “the capacity to implement” (Kreisberg, 1992:57) is broad

²¹⁵ “Masses are other people....” “There are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing people as masses” - emphasizes Williams (1938) quoted by Jarvis (2009:63).

²¹⁶ The Active Seniors co-create dignified and meaningful elderly life by consciously turning themselves into community of empowered. Their cooperation allow them to be the “subject of their own life” (100-20-27-5:206) avoiding to become passive objects of care-taking. The participation in and contribution to voluntary common efforts help to “give dignity for life” by turning it meaningful (Care TV users, Active Seniors). Equal footed participation - for example in frame of “child conferences” in Silvia koti - could create mutual empowerment by strengthening collective power and enhanced effectiveness (Silvia koti, Active Seniors).

²¹⁷ The development program focusing on power sharing proved to be effective in Aba. The combination of innovative participative democratic structures, institutions, mechanisms with the local self-government operating upon law successfully mobilized residents. The structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006) enhancing participative democracy facilitated to generate strategic visions and systematically implement development projects by catalysing the residents’ readiness and capability for participating in self-organizing mass collaboration efforts.

enough to allow power to mean domination, authority, influence, and shared power or "power with"...” - sum up Page and Czuba (1999) the alterations in power perception.

However, tendencies aiming to maintain status quo insist on static and hierarchical perception of power as domination and control ‘over others’. These trends may generate patterns of dynamic equilibrium aiming to keep stability, prevent alterations in power despite accelerating changes taking place in broader context. I.e. even in context of horizontalization may re-appear the traditional domination and control approach. Similar efforts ‘occupy’ nodes on critical pathways and - by operating them as high positions in hierarchies - generates ‘horizontally emerging’ *power networks* (Vitányi, 2007). These are less visible than “traditional” hierarchies; generate robust negative tendencies harming association-prone dynamism, cooperative relationships and especially they trusted character.

The adverse attempts of co-creating shared and sharing ‘power with’ (Kreisberg, 1992) on the one hand and generating hierarchical ‘power over’ others on the other often are present and active simultaneously. For example social networks in many senses embody the idea of self-regulating commons (Bollier, 2016) enabling mutual empowerment and power sharing, characterized by horizontal dynamism of associational and lateral powers. This vision exists and is effective in practice; however, the reality in everyday life became more mixed and controversial. The communication power (Castells, 2009) deployed by selfish interests may frequently and imperceptibly replace the power of self-communication (Castells, 2009). Various market and public players systematically deploy communication power to routinely manipulate members of social networks by following narrow profit-optimization objectives²¹⁸. Moreover the operators collect, process, exchange and sell personal data of the participants of self-communication and related services provided “for free”. Nevertheless, the social networks continue to offer great potential for power sharing and may serve as effective open platforms enabling to co-create mutual advantage and empowerment through self-communication (Castells, 2009) enhancing lateral power patterns. The self-empowering trends may be safeguarded provided the users take care about proper patterns of enactment (Orlikowski, 1992) of enabling technologies instead of letting their privacy ‘fading away’.

²¹⁸ Self-organizing in social networks is confronted with a mixture of controversial trends including “self-regulation” following frames established by operator companies. The rapid emergence of national legislative backgrounds may menace even a breaking up of the Internet into patterns following country specific jurisdictions and consequent power hierarchies. The situation has become more complicated and controversial with the robust presence and activity in the virtual space of various extremist forces including followers of ISIS.

The life sharing communities often possess ‘dual power structure’: their daily life carries out lateral or horizontal power-sharing by following in most aspects patterns of participative democracy, while as legally established entities they should have also hierarchical roles that partly are “ceremonial” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977)²¹⁹. A “dualistic” approach combining formal organizational hierarchies and voluntary interactions through informal networks is present also in local professional enabling cluster. In Helsinki generated similar duality the informal networking among leaders possessing meritocratic power and playing important role in development of strategies and orchestration of their implementation²²⁰ by complementing the city council’s and local public services’ power (and obligations) based on law. In Arabianranta, the employees of local service company (ADC) acted voluntarily as professional enablers for a decade by helping the (self-)empowerment of civil society players²²¹.

The conscious combination of systematic informal networking and of powers delivered by law may provide effective pattern of change making. The e-Democracy network of Finnish central public service by capitalizing on such constellation successfully catalysed citizen participation, horizontalization, and development of the democracy ‘at large’. In order to strengthen participatory enabling and effective power sharing mechanisms the e-Democracy network (had to) actively facilitate also ‘the emergence’ of civil society players capable and willing to contribute to empowering cooperative efforts.

“A: I don’t ...see the legislation could be a big problem here. I think the people’s attitude, within the society the ...identity changing - is a much greater challenge, than any legislation. Of course it will be a problem ...the NGOs are not wrong in their fear, that changes will actually alter the status quo. If somebody gains power somebody loses power. Of course they are aware of it. And we have to face the same question in the central government if we rock the boat and change things ...somebody gains power and somebody loses power.

Q: Is it necessary?

A: For somebody’s’ point of view it is always”(100-20-23-5:519-529) - indicates the coordinator of the e-Democracy department of Finnish Ministry of Justice the crucial importance of attitude changes allowing accepting power shifts and changes in status quo.

Similar ‘duality of power’, feedbacks among formal, elected executives and participants of informal networks of leaders appeared in the innovation ecosystem driven development of Oulu. It enabled to combine the visionary “creative madness” providing non-conventional

²¹⁹ Such ceremonial roles frequently appear during annual meetings of legally established entities while they carry out formal events where elected officials should report and elections may take place.

²²⁰ Efforts to explore effective mechanisms enabling to utilise Living Laboratory as driver to upgrade regional innovation ecosystem (by affecting the national one) played growing role in long term visions of Helsinki.

²²¹ ADC has formal responsibilities to organize services and coordinate district wide economic development.

ideas and very effective and broad networking of a university professor²²² with the systematic daily coordination of the implementation carried out by the mayor. The importance of such visionary role and informal, meritocratic power confirm also the later negative developments in Oulu connected with the blurredness and lack of strategic vision.

“A: ...this was a truly phenomenal thing what happened here with the telecom. Now we are a little bit... Our minds are ...bit blurred. We don’t know exactly...

Q: ...where to go?

A:...where to go what to do”(100-20-19-5:305-311) - explains a professor of Oulu University.

Visions, which are capable to mobilize people may be empowering and provide capacity, power for action²²³ as the local e-Democracy program in Aba indicates:

The”...amount and timing of financial (budgetary) resources do not exhibit the key for our future. There are rather our thoughts about the present and the changes that we commit ourselves what decides our future...”(100-20-64-11:1).

The emerging “...visions of future demonstrated positive effect by reaching every individual resident and becoming accepted by them... It facilitated to overcome the blurredness of options for action, which is the biggest (and frequently unrecognized) obstacle of acting...”(100-20-64-21:12) - emphasize key importance, mobilizing role of visions the experts of local e-Democracy program in Aba.

The duality, simultaneous presence of lateral and hierarchical power, is also characteristic for sharing transformation cluster, especially for developments connected to emerging knowledge society. The knowledge economy related changes in economic value creation promote dual trend also in power context. The large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011)²²⁴ similar to open source communities, which enact meritocracy and direct democracy²²⁵, often establish and rigorously implement legal mechanisms²²⁶. Living Laboratories may also catalyse change

²²² In Mórahalom advisor of the local Agrarian Chamber also provided unchallenged meritocratic and visionary leadership by contributing to the success of open innovation efforts among farmers.

²²³ The visions may play focal, driving role as multiple positive examples similar to “fibred vision” in Turku or the e-Democracy program in Aba (belonging to participation and agency cluster) indicate. The vision that a self-organizing group of residents proposed in Arabianranta was successfully ‘elevated’ into official program of the Neighbourhood Association by catalysing overarching transformations bringing about district wide model shift.

²²⁴ The various innovative work patterns may facilitate altered, non-wage work and participative democracy by facilitating horizontal interactions and sharing through open platforms and networking. These tendencies may contribute to emergence of new, large-scale patterns of cooperation seen as a vector of broader, long-term transformations at societal level (as discussed in subchapter 3.4).

²²⁵ The new candidates are accepted by actual members and (temporally) coordinator(s) of particular tasks are (s)electd by volunteering peers. The companies, also global firms, can participate only on equal footing independently from their - frequently significant - contributions:

“A: ...the open source design communities ...are extremely independent. ...we have to adapt more ...with them it’s like giving a freedom to test or utilize our tools and our platforms for their innovation. And then see ...understanding how to share the ...outcome value when you open up your platforms, your tools for open innovation”(100-20-5-5:71-76) - explains the company perception of cooperation with open source communities the expert of a global firm.

²²⁶ These legal tools simultaneously ensure free and open access to outcomes of common efforts and enable also their for-profit re-implementation.

in balance of power by facilitating enhanced local participation primarily in “virgin markets” in transition countries operating without legacies and rigid structures of group self-interest:

“A: ...when these people who really have the needs and are in a transition stage of their society ...get some new ways of managing them, they can come up with much more innovative system [which could be transposed]...to [markets of] this so called developed western world. ...in a business sense we can involve people who are hardly literate to create new services ...you can change the balance of power and this is what ...we are looking for...”(100-20-10-5:466-478) - describes the professor of Helsinki University the potential impacts of Living Laboratories connected to power changes.

The rapid technology developments may also promote dual trends. They generate disempowering “traditional” global hierarchies and robust power networks, and also promote empowering, lateral organizational and power structures in ‘traditional’ firms²²⁷ besides knowledge economy companies. The firms of knowledge economy may capitalize on the co-workers’ (self-)empowerment through self-organizing efforts and quality focused, passionate and sharing co-creation - which generate efficiency and profitability. I.e. transformations constitutive of the emergence of knowledge economy ultimately may bring about more lateral and shared power and organizational structures that allow also the co-workers’ empowerment. The importance of volunteer cooperation unfolding through altered work patterns and providing empowering potential may rapidly grow due to strengthening “jobless growth” (OECD, 2014) tendencies decreasing the availability of traditional work patterns - as the following section discusses.

Altered work as volunteer cooperation

The Neighbourhood Association capitalizes on and facilitates an altered perception and praxis of work carried out as voluntary, cooperative, passionate, sharing, and creative activity. Many residents of Arabianranta possess knowledge economy jobs and have flexible worktime, what offers enhanced level of freedom to prioritize tasks and assign their time²²⁸. This facilitates to carry out energizing and empowering voluntary activities, passionate and sharing co-creation.

²²⁷ “A: [egalitarian tendencies appear in] all those...processes, where you create something new. ...young people ...realize that there is not authoritarian hierarchy... ...They are listening to me ...two young ladies in personnel... department...told me that it’s so wonderful to work there because they feel respected...”

C: In middle management...

A: ...that there is not that ...old-fashioned authority any more”(100-20-4-5:603-625) - describes the leadership trainer the empowering effects of horizontalization tendencies in firms.

²²⁸ This also makes easier to combine with volunteer activities the fulfilment of the requirements from their job. I.e. also volunteer activities can facilitate the effectiveness and efficiency of one’s daily wage work - not only the other way around. Additionally, volunteer activities carried out as nonwage work may and do contribute to generate hard’ economic value - although these focus primarily on co-creation of social value and wealth.

“A: ...[we are] trying to ...[divide] responsibilities and power in small pieces ...they don’t exhaust you ...[since] this is freewill [contribution]... We are not even call it work... it comes from passion... and we think that it has to be fun ...that...can give back [to you] at least as much as you give”(100-10-29-5:668-673) - describes the coordinator of the board the empowering effects of the volunteer’s non-wage-work.

Although volunteer contributions frequently may require high professional skills and knowledge, the freedom to select tasks and issues, to focus on quality instead of aspects similar to profitability facilitate to carry out work as volunteer and free activity which may be energizing and empowering, liberated and liberating.

“A: ...persons who wanted to come to make [our local newspaper]...were photographer, journalists, graphical experts...

A: ...Professionals [who] do the same thing in their daily work. ...I was ...amazed ...why they want to do it for free, in their spare time. ...I asked two persons ...highly [recognized] professionals ...why you want to do this...you are not going to be paid for this. ...both they said that in daily work they have demands...which are quite pressing ...in this they can do what they want. They have freedom...to do things that they like...on the way they like and what they like. They don’t have to do... stories or photos if don’t have time or if they aren’t interested in the subject. And they are really...

Q: ...engaged ...it’s not an obligation...it’s freewill...”(100-10-29-5:1051-1710) - describes the coordinator of the new board the liberating effects of voluntary work.

The communities offer an altered, *liberating context* where the same pursuit may take place as intrinsically motivated, passionate (co-) creation characterised by drive for quality and self-expression by enabling to improve life quality. In fact it is rather the *context* in which particular pursuits unfold than the content of an activity that *makes a difference*. A (type of) activity carried out as volunteer contribution to common efforts may be perceived as qualitatively different from an identical activity carried out as wage-work and as an employee. The altered constellation changes how ‘workers’ view and perceive their work and its outcome. It offers a setup enabling to overcome limitations characteristic for wage-work that often decrease motivation, commitment and creativity²²⁹. The non-wage work enables focusing on quality, meaningfulness and creativity rather than on quantity, efficiency and profitability characteristic for wage work carried out as a job. The volunteering provides altered context allowing focusing on creative and meaningful character of *work*, without many related requirements and limitations connected to the same activity carried out as a *job*.

²²⁹ The flexible working time of many residents is important component of the altered context in Arabianranta.

The wage work, perceived as a job carried out for earning a living does not consider the crucial importance of its meaningfulness. I.e. omits from view that the creativity is the “generic essence”²³⁰ of all human beings. The “...creativity is not a single quality, attribute (that may exist or missing), not only the sum of certain qualities, but a basic, fundamental aspect of human activity...expressing the substance, the generic essence of every human being. The specific human creativity makes us humans”(Vitányi, 2007:160)²³¹. The creativity is generic and generative and the work carried out as passionate and sharing co-creation may turn work teams into communities by transforming the latter from “people with the problem”(Stoecker 2005b:45-46) into people co-creating solutions.

Volunteer participation may remove job related barriers from creativity and freedom and enables to (re-) transform work into passionate and sharing co-creation that has little in common with wage work carried out to earn a living²³². The creative and meaningful non-wage work carried out as “...deep play...is not frivolous entertainment but, rather, empathic engagement with one's fellow human beings. Deep play is the way we experience the other, transcend ourselves, and connect to broader, ever more inclusive communities of life in our common search for universality. The third sector is where we participate, even on the simplest of levels, in the most important journey of life - the exploration of the meaning of our existence”(Rifkin, 2011:268). This approach reflects both the deep notion of work as process of personal and collective human self-creation and the individuals' belonging to civil society - being “person in community” (Whitehead, 1929; Cobb, 2007; Nonaka et al, 2008).

Communities facilitate and capitalize on co-creation and sharing of social - rather than economic - value and wealth. The members' passionate and sharing co-creation is voluntary non-wage work that simultaneously is liberated and liberating, and enables co-creation and accumulation of social capital, indispensable for any type of human interactions²³³. This altered work becomes the opposite or antithesis of wage-work, it creates and is characterized by a new balance between cooperation and competition as the following section discusses.

²³⁰ Probably this formulation is capable to express a meaning close to the German “Gattungswesen”.

²³¹ “Every individual has some kind of creative capacity, in different form and measurement, in different fields of human activities. Their totality constitutes the system of creative capacities of a person...”(Vitányi, 2007:160).

²³² Currently a new duality or dichotomy is emerging between the “non-wage work” carried out in on-demand service economy (Scholz, 2016; Ehmsen and Scharenberg, 2016) and in genuine sharing economy (Chase, 2012).

²³³ The crucial importance of social capital to make knowledge work genuinely effective and efficient indicates the experience of both Living Laboratories located on Turku Archipelago and in Mórahalom.

Deep and substantive alterations and a transformational potential of work are “omnipresent” in all five explored case-community clusters although their visibility frequently remains low. For the first sight, the aspect of work may seem not very relevant in connection to social networking and self-communication cluster - at least by following the dominant logic perceiving wage work as identical with and the sole form of work. However the work is the process of human self-creation through socializing and creative and meaningful cooperation, consequently social networks may and do serve as very effective potential “workplaces”, which do not become ‘jobs’. The social media serve as open platform catalysing networking and self-communication through self-organizing mass collaboration efforts that may facilitate also the emergence of new patterns of non-wage work²³⁴. The social networks may serve as open catalytic platforms, a kind of “*net-ware*” or third component enabling and constitutive of non-traditional, large-scale patterns of work, such as peer production, open source communities or Living Laboratories.

Living Laboratories may facilitate fulfilment of genuine local needs by catalysing innovative solutions and frequently applying non-wage work - especially while acting on “virgin markets” of transition economies. They follow a pull - rather than the dominant push - model (100-20-10-5) what allows satisfying genuine needs in rural areas where traditional business case approach aiming at “end to end” solutions is often not applicable. The deployment of non-traditional work patterns by involving end-users offers robust potential to refocus on growing fulfilment of genuine local needs:

“The relevant local needs often ...remain in “shadow” ...in so called “long tail” ...no company wants to address these needs because they don’t [offer a typical “scaling up”] business case. But if people themselves...in a local community...could create services...based on some generic services...that are relevant to them, really meets their needs....this would ...give powerful tools...”(100-20-10-5:271-299). “A: ...sometimes doing something as 80% or even 10% is good enough²³⁵ ...if the market is underserved...”(100-20-10-5:451-469)” - explains the professor of the Helsinki University the significance to capitalize on open innovation and local creativity providing genuine solutions.

²³⁴ The vivid self-communication through social networks enables to follow up new tendencies and innovative solutions with great significance also for ‘ordinary’ daily job or wage work - as, among others, the advisor of open innovation project in Mórahalom emphasized.

²³⁵ “Once the disruptive product gains a foothold in new or low-end markets, the improvement cycle begins. ...the pace of technological progress outstrips customers’ abilities to use it, the previously not-good-enough technology eventually improves enough to intersect with the need of more demanding customers...”(Christensen and Raymond, 2003:34).

There is also a potential to overcome current division of work life and public affairs by capitalizing on re-linking participation and work²³⁶, primarily its non-wage pattern, as participation and agency cluster indicates²³⁷. It's important to prevent tendencies of limiting or transforming participation in democratic decision making into consumption of democracy services as experience of Finnish e-Democracy network shows. It requires overcoming misconceptions following the simplified and 'simplifying' logic of market economy, reducing practically all activities to wage work carried out as jobs²³⁸.

The members of life sharing communities are frequently explicitly aware that their work simultaneously catalyses and carries out also their personal self-development and empowering individuation. Contributions to cooperative efforts are constitutive of creating the volunteers' autonomous self and holistic personality independently from the primary field of activity:

"A: ...all these ...people ...are doing this work every day ...connected with quite difficult children or...adults ...you realize that it is your own development process in this life"(100-20-4-5:390-402) – points out a coordinator of the Silvia koti at the role of volunteering and non-wage work in one's individuation.

The community members' voluntary contributions carried out as passionate and sharing co-creation and as non-wage work often interplay with altered, participative character of competition - as discussed in the next part.

Competition in contributions

The Neighbourhood Association generated changes proving in practice that the volunteers may compete in trying to provide better solutions and in enhancing the quality of their - often unilateral - contributions to efforts aiming to improve collective life quality. Similarly, the members of the renewed board by acting as professional enablers may compete in finding more effective solutions. Moreover, they initiated to collect local experience and best practices in order to train future leaders of local civil society, i.e. their upcoming competitors.

"A: ...for example in the board ...there could be changes all the time... In every year there could come new persons and [it will help them to] get grip of it because there are so much activities... We are trying to find the ways that it would be...as easy as possible for new people who don't know anything...to be part of actions and get information. And we are now

²³⁶ Developments of e-Democracy efforts at local (Aba) or national (Finnish e-Democracy network) levels, as well as successful local initiation of legislative changes (Turku) offer practical examples of such connection.

²³⁷ The participation and agency cluster indicates advantages of re-linking non-wage work and participation in public affairs contributing to new patterns of social division of labour in emerging knowledge society, discussed in subchapter 3.4.

²³⁸ The same logic led to dominance of regular patterns of wage work implemented in projects aiming to develop local civil society, what turned out to be the 'recipe of failure' in Veresegyház. By contrast, in Aba, local e-Democracy developments became important catalysts allowing upgrading collective capabilities.

writing down all kind of...ideas and ...principles and try to get it ...as accessible [as possible]”(100-20-29-5:1215-1218).

“A: I hope that I [will not be] chairman after 5 years, but I hope...doing something in the ...Association ...we...now...try to find...ways [to achieve sustainability in]...this activity that we have managed to [start] here ...we have workshops...and we have also meetings for thinking [about and mapping experience and] ways ...[by checking] are they durable ...[do] we have only one way doing...and thinking about things? ...we are thinking [about how to keep high level of activity and]...acceptance from residents ...[new] people can come and...do things on...[their] own way”(100-20-29-5:626-639) - explains the coordinator of the new board why and how they organize trainings for potential new board members, their future competitors, by creating the sustainability of enabling leadership.

The volunteer co-operators accept and search mutual advantage and in institutional context their collaboration interplays with primacy of non-zero-sum approach by bringing about significant changes in various other dimensions, including competition. The overcome of intertwined institutional dominance of zero-sum approach and resource scarcity view enables to look for ways to ‘increase the cake’ instead of pursuing to acquire the possible biggest ‘slice(s)’, i.e. aiming to establish and exercise dominance and control over the possible largest volume from available resources.

This altered pattern interplays with changes in motivation allowing competing through providing improved contributions and solutions. The volunteers’ intense co-creative efforts can simultaneously generate the mental state of full immersion or the “happiness of cooperation and co-creation”, i.e. flow experience (Csikszentmihályi, 1990). Such flow experience in turn can generate enhanced motivation to compete through improving one’s contribution to cooperative efforts. Since the volunteers attempt co-create through symbiotic (and synergistic) efforts new capabilities and capacities allowing extending and upgrading the collective resource base, it also may provide chances for offering improved individual contributions. I.e. the association-prone institutional change(s) enabling to overcome ‘to take for granted’ the resource scarcity may allow new, participative patterns of competition. These aim to find and provide better solutions, more effective ways of resource enactment and to broaden the collectively available resource base.

The (new board of) Neighbourhood Association facilitated the residents’ altered, participative competition aiming to improve life quality in the district by generating and accumulating social - rather than economic or market - capital, value and wealth. This competition facilitated to offer more creative ideas and better personal contributions to efforts aiming to

improve collective life quality. The switch to participative - replacing dominance-seeking - patterns enabled to overcome the false dichotomy ‘competition versus cooperation’ emphasizing the primacy of the former. I.e. the competition following participative pattern could serve as powerful driver of cooperation instead of acting as its antipode.

The participative character of competition by following *additive character* generated improved effectiveness of cooperation. The altered pattern brought about quality shift allowing overcoming the ‘resource costs’ of colliding, conflicting or confronting relational dynamics, which generated decreasing collective resource outcome. I.e. due to its additive character the participative competition could contribute to results of collective efforts by amending, increasing their outcome - instead of diminishing or decreasing them with costs of collisions and expenses related to competition. The participative competition became an end for *improved outcome* instead of an end in itself. It became valued as much as it could contribute to generate added value and capital in social rather than in economic context, without being perceived as a value in itself (Cobb, 2007). Instead of to “beat the competitor”(100-20-7-5:129) in order to achieve and strengthen dominance²³⁹ the ‘edge’ of participative competition was re-directed to ‘*beat problems*’. The altered, participative competition aimed to improve contributions to collective creative efforts and followed cooperation-seeking attitude by replacing dominance-seeking²⁴⁰.

The Artist Community turned to be a sample-case of shift in context of competition following participative and overcoming its dominance seeking character. The members of Artist Community earlier had fear that the appearance of more artists and art communities in the district may sharpen competition by diminishing the number of ‘their’ potential buyers. Soon they realized, however, that if there were more artists in the district - and if they could provide more information about their artworks of high quality and affordable prices - together they could attract more visitors and consequently more potential buyers. I.e. the stronger is the image of Arabianranta as “art and design” city the more visitors and potential buyers may

²³⁹ Through weakening the competitors the dominance-seeking approach in fact aims to diminish and even exclude competition.

²⁴⁰ The big project - in fact a complex program - in Arabianranta served to safeguard good relationships among kids becoming teenagers and their parents. The special soccer training driven by a professional coach aimed to catalyse improved cooperation among kids and parents, they competed in offering a better contribution to cooperative efforts.

arrive²⁴¹. Consequently, the more they can improve the image of Arabianranta as an attractive “art and design” city the more probable is to increase the number of visitors - and potential buyers. In other words, the enhancement of the attractiveness of the district’s image became a new field of their altered, participative competition.

A: ...There is a group of person...who wanted to apply room from us, but we are full so I said: Why don’t you start a similar association here next or on the 6th floor? ...it is free...I will support it as much as I can... I think it’s only good...

Q: You don’t have envy you don’t see them as competitors. Even you are ready to help them to establish their own community?

A: ...The more artists are here the more people...come in... The more advertisement [it creates]... [Earlier] I thought...maybe we get empty rooms... maybe there is not enough demand for two of this... But now...I think it’s only good. It’s only...positive for everyone ...if we have...more communication ...more people come here... It’s everyone’s advantage ...we have different kind of art and different price level and people can afford [to buy something]... of course if you have to pay 3000 or 4000 for a painting, it’s a lot... you can pay may be a couple of hundreds and get some paintings from us...”(100-20-26-5:277-314) - explains the coordinator of the Art Community the changes in their perception of competition.

The primary task became to ‘increase the cake’ through improved contributions. It replaced dominance seeking efforts following ‘traditional’ logic of maximizing shares or slices from an unchanging (or even yet diminishing) size of ‘cake’. Consequently, their participative competition had an additive logic and character. The Artist Community followed the logic of participative competition also in relation with other local artist organizations²⁴² although they kept continue to see galleries located in downtown Helsinki as competitors. Nevertheless, they attempted to improve the “art and design city” image also through participating on

²⁴¹ Following this approach, the more skilful and successful are the fellow-artists the better is their common image, which is more advantageous for all of them. In this vein the artists offered mutual help and inspiration to each other, the more experienced volunteered to provide unobtrusive mentoring to junior community members.

“A: ...we have very nice atmosphere ...very nice discussions... ..Normally in artist groups there are envies and competition...but we are sharing...everything ...Every day when I come here...I think: is it still here? ...is our spirit still here? ...and it has been...and it is good...”

A: ...We have people ...just graduated from school or even studying ...we have ...strong group of more advanced or matured people like the person who is the oldest in our group. She is a nice spirit here for us everyone... She says: I have to teach and I always have to say something. It’s nice to show ...she is so supportive, positive that nobody gets offended...

Q: You are a real community ...you like each other not only as artists but as persons as well...

A: ...I think so ...that is exactly the case”(100-20-26-5:270-300) - explains the Artist community’s coordinator.

²⁴² “A: I think that we could do ...like a head organization...”

Q: Umbrella organization?

A: Yeah. And they could apply for money from ...cultural funds and then...

Q: ...distribute among the members...

A: And may be ...would be money enough to ...employ a person to apply ...who can do it [permanently]...

Q2: This is a really good model ...It would be amazing...participate in some...association abroad...

A: We are trying... we are 13 [cooperating] and we try to take exhibitions also outside Finland and we also apply...places abroad” (100-20-26-5:693-717) - describes the coordinator of Artist Community attempts to follow co-opetitive (Brandenburger and Nalebuff,1996) approach broadening circle of interacting organizations.

exhibitions abroad through applying for funding in collaboration with other artistic organizations.

The altered, participative competition enables to “become heroes of [one’s] own life”(100-20-27-5) according to plausible expression of the Active seniors²⁴³. Also other case-communities of life sharing cluster are domains of altered competition through offering better solutions facilitating enhanced life quality²⁴⁴ primarily through social value creation. I.e. the participative competition enhances the effectiveness and quality of voluntary contributions to common efforts and aims to *maximise shared common benefit*. Since it interplays with emerging institutional primacy of non-zero sum approach enabling to overcome resource scarcity view, the cooperation-seeking approach allows increasing collective resource base and ‘personal shares’ of all participants, the search of mutual benefits replaces the previous ‘dominance of dominance-seeking’. This focus-shift enabling to *extend and upgrade* collective resource base and the *effectiveness* of its enactment in a sense is the essence of the participative character of competition. Such participative character may interplay with transformations in multiple dimensions having broader, even systemic effects (Table N 7).

The participative competition facilitates to improve collective life quality that is shared among all members - and also non-members. I.e. it turns other participants into beneficiaries of one’s “winning”²⁴⁵, because the outcome of improved contributions is shared, accessible and available to everybody. This setup facilitates mutual empowerment and individuation and prevents ‘negative externalities’ of traditional, dominance-seeking competition.

The participative pattern of competition in a sense harmonizes with or even is driven by acceptance of (the consequences of) interdependence. Since participative competition serves collective benefit the ‘winner takes all’ approach is not an option. The ‘winner’ is the best

²⁴³ The altered competition facilitates to overcome the disempowering dichotomy between capable, “lonely heroes” and mass(es) of less capable or fully un-capable(s).

²⁴⁴ In Silvia koti the members in frame of a “child conferences” try to offer better solutions for healing kids. The Active Seniors frequently carry out brain storming by competing in offering better solutions for emerging problems. The volunteering users of care TV services compete among each other and also with students and experts to offer better, more innovative services.

²⁴⁵ The real outcome of mass participation is the replacement of passive observation of the “gladiators fight”. Competition, in a sense, is the effort to overcome one’s own (relative) weaknesses; it facilitates self-transformation, the fulfilment of one’s highest level needs. The participation rather than the victory is important as Coubertin emphasised. “The important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle, the essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well”(Hill, 1996:7-8).

contributor to collective efforts and receives personal reward through improved collective outcome increasing everybody's share:

"A: ...when you have that ...attitude ...you are not asking what do you get, but you ask, how you can help, where is your expertise needed... And when the whole community is successful, then you get that what you need"(100-20-4-5:254-257) - describes the Silvia koti expert how collective achievements may be motivating and rewarding for volunteer co-operators to contribute to collective efforts through participative competition.

ASPECTS	PARTICIPATIVE COMPETITION	ZERO-SUM COMPETITION
Pattern	Participative	Domination-seeking
Edge	Beat the problem	Beat the competitor
Institutional pattern	Non-zero-sum approach Interdependence	Zero-sum paradigm Resource scarcity view
Competition as	End for an improved outcome Competition as driver of cooperation Competition in contributions Cooperation through competition	End in itself Competition antipode of cooperation Competition in domination-seeking Competition through cooperation
Essence	Extend collective resource base	Maximize private resource base
Essence	Effectiveness of collective resourcing	Efficiency of private resourcing
Value focus	Social value	Economic value
Dynamics	Additive	Dominative
Model	Multiple win All are beneficiaries	The winner takes all All but one are 'looser'
Individual aim	Improve individual contribution	Improve private gain
Orientation	Horizontal	Vertical
Mission	Increase the 'cake'	Increase the 'slice'
Approach	Inclusive /Collective	Exclusive /Private
Capital focus	Social capital	Economic capital
Optimization	Maximize shared common benefit	Maximize private benefit
Advantage	Associational advantage/ Mutual	Competitive advantage /Unilateral
Capability	Co-create capabilities	Dominate and control capabilities
Attitude	Cooperation seeking attitude	Dominance seeking attitude
Vision	"Become heroes of [one's] own life"	Dominance of dominance seeking
Focus	Improve collective effectiveness	Improve unilateral efficiency
Outcome	Increased collective outcome	Decreased collective outcome
Side effect	Empowering individuation	Negative externalities

Table 7: Comparative overview of participative and zero-sum competition

A dual approach to competition that internally follows participative pattern, while in relations with 'externals' continue the dominance-seeking 'traditional' forms of competition are widespread²⁴⁶ in observed clusters. The innovation eco-system focused developments in Oulu

²⁴⁶ Such duality is characteristic for local professional enabling cluster. Helsinki competes with other global cities in knowledge economy networks, while Arabianranta competes with other city districts for development resources provided by the city and the state. The Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory facilitates participative competition in elaboration of personalized services, but the project aims to improve "traditional"

offer, however, somewhat specific ‘dual sample’ proving that a shift to participative cooperation in growingly complex fields is both possible and highly rewarding. On the other hand, the internal ‘non-competition’ aims to enhance ‘traditional’ competitiveness²⁴⁷ of local companies - against ‘externals’.

“A: ...it may be another point of the culture... ...they are not competitors. They decided not to compete with each other. And that is one of the big points... ...That everybody finds their own part of the business. And mostly the companies are looking only their own part. They know that somebody else is taking care of the next part. And very often they say it: You better take care of that ...it has started very-very long time ago when the tar was the only what everybody was doing ...that is the culture also that the people are dividing the share and looking what we are doing [and what] somebody else is doing ...all parts...are done.

Q: The complexity is created...”(100-20-15-5:502-512) - describes the director of Oulu Innovation agency the long history of cooperation and ‘non-competition’ among local players.

“A: ...[In Oulu a shift] happened at the very beginning that actually caused this highest ...good cooperation.... Everybody knew the city people knew we can’t do it alone without university or companies. ...researchers...knew they can’t do anything without...companies, firms and city. The university didn’t have any money, but they had people. And they needed also the city to finance and to coordinate the administrative things”(100-20-18-5:106-112) - explains the director of Economic Development department of the council of Oulu their understanding of necessity to cooperate internally to become and remain globally competitive.

Dual approach appears also in self-communication in social networks cluster since the operators’ interest and aim is to maximise the number of users by providing access even ‘for free’ - since they receive the bulk of income from and through advertisements. They compete in providing more effective, engaging, and comfortable platforms for self-communication to attract the largest possible number of users. However, the operators getting access to rapidly growing volume and ‘sensitivity’ of the users’ personal information process and ‘trade’ it in increasingly sophisticated manners. I.e. the diminishing and lost privacy is the real and growingly high price of ‘free services’²⁴⁸ that users pay in context of traditional competition.

In multiple, sometimes rather unexpected ways the dual approach appears also in participation and agency cluster, since the ‘traditional’ competition and power games turn to be present

competitiveness in order to increase the farmers’ income from tourism. Similarly in Mórahalom, although the participating farmers consider sharing their new methods with their main competitor, the cooperative in Szentes, the driver of their cooperative efforts is to gain competitive advantage on the market of vegetables.

²⁴⁷ Oulu tries systematically to network and cooperate - often through personal contacts - with the global bests.

²⁴⁸ In order to increase the number of participants the operators provide open platforms for networking and access for Internet, quasi “for free” following the model that Google promotes particularly “loudly” (Jarvis, 2009). However, there is rapidly increasing body of evidence about growing “traditional” competition in gathering, processing and “trading” sensitive personal data of users, often in cooperation with state agencies.

also among civil society players²⁴⁹. Some of them often try to delay changes that may increase competition for influence and subsidies with appearance of new civil society players who use enabling technologies - as the experience of the Finnish e-Democracy network shows.

The participative competition is increasingly present also in sharing transformations cluster, despite that it seems to be the most “natural” domain of traditional competition. The companies have to engage in open innovation by collaborating with volunteer co-operators to involve, and mobilize more effectively, external soft resources, especially creative energies. I.e. the company competitiveness may depend growingly on ability of offering and implementing more profitable business models enabling to utilise and harness the potential that participative competition among volunteer co-operators offers²⁵⁰.

“A: Well ...in this knowledge era will be used all our competitive advantages ...like cost efficiency, and lean, and process ...everything is becoming the same, everybody has used the same ways of beating competitors. So we are nowadays as lean, as quick, as efficient, etc. [as possible] and ...what is between you - ...that is innovativeness”(100-20-7-5:126-130) - points out the crowded sourcing expert of a global company at growing importance of non-traditional forms of innovation similar to open innovation.

“A: ...there was market demand to ...bring users ...[into the] open process ...also becoming innovators and producers of the solution...when we had to start addressing...user-friendly interface design ...we got a very strong pressure from...open source community ...to ...release more ...our tools to the community itself”(100-20-5-5:39-47) - describes the global company expert the pressures forcing firms to engage into open innovation to be competitive.

The companies joining to open source communities also have to embrace and utilise participative competition to full extent. They must open up also their proprietary software source codes to generate the largest possible number of competing proposals in order to accelerate their upgrading. It is necessary to create robust participative competition among volunteers in frame of open source communities which is oriented to improve effectiveness and quality of contributions bringing about rapid, quality level shifts and improvements in the software. The communities in frame of open innovation seem to become a ‘field’ of company competition where the firms’ business mechanisms transform the volunteers’ creativity and

²⁴⁹ In Aba the competitiveness of the micro-region - as well as of the mayor and local politicians - gained on participative competition among members of the informal network of leaders, while the logic of dominance-seeking competition turned the civil society development project in Verezegyház a failure. By contrast, the initiators’ of legislative changes in frame of Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory were well-aware that they had to compete for the attention and support of multiple players and thoroughly looked for ways to create mutual advantage - what facilitated their success.

²⁵⁰ It is a somewhat paradoxical situation that firms have to compete also through increasingly skilful forms of enhanced collaboration with volunteer co-operators - in order to “beat their competitors”.

non-wage work into source of growing economic value and profit. The participative character of competition interplays also with transformed character of work of volunteer contributors unfolding as passionate and sharing co-creation. I.e. there are diverging and converging tendencies whose resultant may ultimately catalyse growingly association-prone dynamics also in sharing transformations cluster. Feed backing changes constitutive of and related to simultaneous alterations in both work and competition are present in most community clusters and are connected also with changes in value creation - as the following section discusses.

Primacy of social value creation

The residents' volunteer cooperation in Arabianranta co-created collective life quality, which 'no money can buy'²⁵¹ by focusing on generating social - rather than economic - capital, value and wealth. This constellation interplayed with the association-prone character of institutional dimension and facilitated the Neighbourhood Association's successful 'reverse transformation' into the umbrella organization of local civil society by amplifying in turn association-prone tendencies. The interplay among life quality, cooperative atmosphere²⁵², and enhanced community sense could generate also growing demand and increasing prices of apartments, i.e. (added) market value as 'unintentional side effect'.

"A: ...[the developments created by] Neighbourhood Association and [volunteering efforts] ...have ...economic...effects ...they are quite big for [individual residents] ...and also for the area... This community sense that we ...developed together [catalyses]...rising flats' prices... Q: There is no crime... the district offers safe and cooperative environment ...improving quality of life. ...you can't create it through money... It is something more"(100-20-29-5:1112-1134) - points out the coordinator of the new board at the positive financial impacts that the residents' community sense and volunteer cooperation generated.

The tolerant and cooperative relationships are seen as achievements with highest value that the decade long development efforts in Arabianranta created - upon concordant opinion of both coordinators of professional enablers²⁵³. These open, tolerant, and collaborative relations instantiate, embody abundant social capital with positive externalities (Fukuyama, 1999) interplaying with wealth in human relations²⁵⁴. The residents are ready and motivated to socialize, participate in and contribute to voluntary cooperative efforts bringing about

²⁵¹ The residents highly value the pervasive presence of art and culture in Arabianranta and the districts' lifestyle characterised by closeness to nature. They frequently identify houses with pieces of art located in the court or on the façade of the buildings. The residents also insisted that the University of Art and Design should remain in Arabianranta in line with its image of a genuine art end design city. The art and culture, as well as the closeness to the see and the nature are highly valued, important parts of their collective self-image.

²⁵² The cooperative atmosphere interplays with the association-prone institutional dynamism.

²⁵³ The coordinator of the board of Neighbourhood Association and the director of local service company emphasize in unison key significance of having "10 % higher tolerance", i.e. elevated quality of relationships.

²⁵⁴ At the importance of relational - compared to material - wealth points out in Grundrisse Marx (1858, 1993).

improvements in life quality. Indeed, the association-prone character of local institutional-relational-value constellation capitalized on an interplay among the primacy of non-zero-sum approach in institutional dimension, the abundance of social capital, the relationships' trustful character, the readiness to cooperate in order to improve collective life quality, the focus on associational - instead of competitive - advantage, and the focal role of social value. This setting amplified and in turn capitalized on the residents' readiness 'to be at service' mutually by providing also *unilateral* contributions to collaborative efforts.

The volunteers perceive relationships and cooperation as *core values*. They can follow *networking patterns of value creation* by *optimizing* simultaneously the value of the group and its individual members. The local civil society similarly to the entire "...third sector is a commons...where people share their talents and lives with one another for the sheer joy of social connectivity. ...in third sector, the relationships are an end in themselves, and are therefore imbued with intrinsic value rather than mere utility value ...[u]nlike the market, where relationships between people are predominantly instrumental and a means to an end - optimizing each person's material self-interest ...the core assumption in civil society is that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members ...like the Internet" - argues Rifkin (2011:268). Due to such value constellation the volunteers' interactions follow social capital accumulation logic enabling avoiding estranging side effects²⁵⁵. The primacy of social value creation feeds back with new dialectics of cooperation (and competition) and offers improved effectiveness of collective resourcing (discussed below).

The volunteers' contributions may proceed in diverse dimensions, aspects and contexts and take place at parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive, i.e. self-organizing manner²⁵⁶. The volunteers don't ask immediate compensation or remuneration, their unilateral contributions

²⁵⁵ "A: We [decided]...that we do things by ourselves and [will] not wait to get funding or support...from the city... We started to do things ...we tried [and we realized] that we don't need money to most of things. [We always asked:] What is the way that [with available] resources we can make ...happen? That was very important line and we are doing it all the time now.

A: ...we are not going to...apply [for external financing]...because it would change...the structures [among] different ...players... ...when money isn't moving between...partners they have free will and [can] do what they want"(100-20-29-5:671-692) - explains the coordinator of board the reasons and advantage to focus on locally available resources.

²⁵⁶ They follow horizontal patterns, and are not linked with unilateral, bottom-up obligations or with access rights to resources according to one's position in (organizational) hierarchies. The aggregation of often unilaterally provided contributions aggregates into 'horizontal emergence', carries out self-organizing of communities.

affecting various dimensions or contexts may be connected and compared through ‘multilateral sharing’ of outcomes and social value. I.e. they can ‘exchange’ their contributions through sharing their (collective) outcomes instead of sticking to bilateral ‘clearing’ of their economic value. Consequently, the volunteers’ contributions may follow asymmetric and asynchronous patterns of reciprocity, multi-party and ‘open ended’ mutuality.

Such asymmetry and asynchrony is characteristic for both the volunteers’ (i) contributions, and (ii) the fulfilment of their needs. Therefore the civil society organizations may de-couple or unbundle the voluntary contributions and the fulfilment of the contributors’ needs, and such overcome of direct linkage in space-time may generate enhanced effectiveness in both contexts. Similar unbundling is enabled by mutual acceptance that the economic value of various fulfilled needs or diverse contributions cannot and should not be ‘equalized’ and ‘matched’ in economic sense. The volunteers accept - at least tacitly - differences in the interacting individuals’ capabilities and responsibilities²⁵⁷ what allows fulfilling needs without bringing them to a common, monetary denominator. The ‘demonetization’ may be part of broader alterations, since:

“...the trend is moving to digital exchange more than monetary exchange...without transaction and banks to share content and value added...”(100-20-5-5:714-716) - points out at the related broader tendencies the open innovation expert of a global company.

The volunteer co-operators accept - although often tacitly or unconsciously - that the ‘open ended’ and multi-party patterns of reciprocity may and should not qualify as exchange of equal values measured in economic terms. This setup may allow - in some cases presupposes - to carry out value creation and exchange without involvement of financial equivalents. Consequently, the interplay among (i) (unilateral) voluntary contributions, (ii) the primacy of social value, and (iii) networking patterns of value and wealth creation may allow fulfilling wide range of needs independently whether or not they are (un-)covered by purchasing capability²⁵⁸. The volunteers perceive one’s participation in the common efforts as a contribution of the highest social value²⁵⁹. Since the cooperative efforts’ underlying aim is to

²⁵⁷ The community members recognize - maybe only tacitly - the institutional primacy of interdependence.

²⁵⁸ The broader environment, especially market sector players are unable - and unwilling - to tackle needs uncovered by purchasing power, which do not qualify as demand.

²⁵⁹ “...Unlike the market, where relationships between people are predominantly instrumental and a means to an end - optimizing each person's material self-interest - in third sector, the relationships are an end in themselves, and are therefore imbued with intrinsic value rather than mere utility value. ...the third sector is a commons as well, where people share their talents and lives with one another for the sheer joy of social connectivity”(Rifkin, 2011:268).

socialize while carrying out meaningful and creative activities allowing improving and sharing collective life quality, one's readiness to join to and participate in cooperative interactions the community members see as the most appreciated and valued contribution. I.e. in communities the contributions' social value has of primary importance quasi-independently from their actual economic value or market (non-)valuation.

The case-communities in all five clusters facilitate to *re-link social and economic value* in multiple ways by focusing primarily on co-creation of social - rather than economic - capital. The perceived primacy of social value and wealth is intertwined with their capability of (re-) producing social capital and trust. The later are indispensable also for economic value creation and their availability and abundance may provide high return also through added (economic) value co-creation as diverse clusters indicate (local professional enabling, participation and agency, sharing transformations).

The voluntary cooperation may facilitate to create also 'hard' economic, market value which the volunteers perceive as unintentional side effect. This constellation may trigger undisclosed, one-sided attempts to assert personal material self-interest, which is characteristic in the broader environment of the civil society organizations. I.e. some participants may try to (mis-) use the association-prone constellation in order to gain economic value and competitive advantage unilaterally by switching one-sidedly to primacy of economic instead of social values. However, such attempts would damage and demolish mutual trust, moreover bring about distrust by potentially provoking termination of open ended patterns of mutuality and 'multilateral clearing' among the unilateral contributions. I.e. similar attempts to follow individual material self-interest unilaterally would harm the reproduction of social capital and trust and ultimately could 'extinguish' self-organizing and terminate cooperation.

Due to differences in value preferences the cooperation between civil society and market sector players may be demanding exercise. It requires meticulous assurance of openness and skilful management of trust - a particularly important challenge in sharing transformations cluster. The civil society organizations generate associational rather than competitive advantage, their members create and share improved life quality, which is the outcome of non-wage work giving priority to social - instead of market - value. The communities' and civil society organizations' value perception and creation may be more diversified,

sophisticated, and more long-term oriented compared to firms and market sector players ‘exposed’²⁶⁰ to robust pressures of “short-termism”(Barton, 2011)²⁶¹. I.e. upon the market sector players the short-term profit maximization trends are generated by competitive pressures. These tendencies re-generate the twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view in institutional context and the dominance-seeking competition in relational aspect. The competitive pressures also request to mobilize ‘external resources’ through creating and operating open innovation ecosystems frequently with global reach. The strong global firms use these networks as active catalytic platforms enabling to mobilize and orchestrate significant external resources through open innovation²⁶². They wish to ‘share’ with volunteers only use value and try (often successfully) to “keep monetary value for themselves”(100-20-5-5). However, such constellation may undermine trust, the very basis of longer term cooperation by provoking its termination.

The various, emerging, large scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011) may offer a viable alternative to relink social and economic value and capital creation. These enable to prevent “collateral” environmental and social damages which the ‘traditional patterns’ of economic value creation may generate as “side effects”. The Living Laboratories may facilitate to fulfil genuine needs and may relink more effectively social and economic value. They can involve local user communities primarily by acting on “virgin” markets of transition countries, which often are free from legacies of strong market players. I.e. through facilitating non-wage work, its altered qualities the Living Laboratories may reconnect improved patterns of value creation by catalysing life quality improvements. Also various Web2.0 phenomena may provide platforms for value creation by accelerating creative social networking, because the very networking may generate additional, added value for the participants (Burgelman and Osimo, 2007). In civil society organizations the primacy of social value feeds back with association-prone dynamism and this constellation interplays also with altered patterns of resourcing - as next section discusses in details.

²⁶⁰ Actually these are the very companies who generate the trends of ‘short termism’ which they perceive however as ‘exposure’ to pressures from markets - seen as impersonal and powerful phenomena.

²⁶¹ To overcome growing and increasingly harmful pressures of short-termism (Barton, 2011) would require genuine ‘value sharing’ also in market sector. The provision of long term mutual advantages in and among knowledge economy firms (Nonaka et al., 2008) could (facilitate to) provide sustainability.

²⁶² These tendencies catalyse new patterns of economic value creation and sharing that also enhance the role of intra-company communities.

Resourcing locally - with global reach

The Neighbourhood Association's (re-)transformation to umbrella organization of local civil society taking over also professional enabling interplayed with significant alterations in resourcing connected with volunteer contributions. These changes included a focus shift on locally available and growing significance of 'soft' resources; consequent implementation of modularity of contributions; and symbiotic capability creation. These alterations interplayed with a horizontal, decentralized and sharing pattern of resourcing bringing about its increased effectiveness and facilitating to broaden and upgrade the collective resource base.

The new board of the Neighbourhood Association on its first meeting decided to focus on locally available resources and terminate to apply²⁶³ for external grants and subsidies²⁶⁴. The 'local availability' allowed mobilizing resources with 'global reach' due to their relational character and the high level of connectibility. These alterations in resourcing facilitated profound changes constitutive of the Association's re-transformation into genuine umbrella organization of the local civil society. Its board carried out professional enabling and promoted modularity of contributions catalysing the residents' mass-level self-organizing enabling to find solutions to local problems, to improve both life quality and effectiveness of resourcing. I.e. the residents' efforts aimed to generate associational - instead of competitive - advantage. Since the focus shift on locally available resources allowed increasing effectiveness of resourcing and broadening of collective resource base, two years later the board reconfirmed this strategy.

"A: ...when we started in beginning of 2008. We [agreed] that we do things by ourselves ...[will] not wait to get funding...from the city... ...it's the traditional way to ask money and then if you got money...start...doing. We started to do things... ...we [learned] that we don't need money to most...things. ...What is the way that [within existing] resources we can make [things] happen? ...we are [asking] it all the time now.

Q: To get the critical mass locally without being funded directly by one big donor ...[without] losing your internal energies...

A: ...we have made [recently the same] decision ...now we are [known] in the city... After ...two years of hard work...we could get...money for our happenings. But we are not going...

A: ...to apply for it ...because it would change...the structure [among]...different...players which [participate] ...when money isn't moving between...partners they have free will and ...possibility to do what they want. ...we thought [and confirmed our previous decisions at] the beginning of this year"(100-20-29-5:670-692) - explains the coordinator of the new board the empowering effects of focusing on locally available resources.

²⁶³ The training programs enabling to generate new capabilities and frequently carried out in cooperation with other neighbourhoods were the exceptions from the general 'non-application' approach of the Association.

²⁶⁴ The civil society organizations frequently have to re-alter their activities to be eligible for various funds since funders offer limited, mostly short-term financing for preferred tasks independently from genuine local needs.

The cancellation of fundraising activities enabled to overcome dependency on external sources connected with preconditions and obligations characteristic for the 'monoculture' of financial or monetizable resources. These changes capitalized on the resources' profoundly relational character emphasized by the structuration theory (Giddens, 1984; Orlikowski, 1992, 2000; Sewell, 1992; Stillman, 2006)²⁶⁵. In context of structuration it is the agents' capability to command them what is more important for being a resource than its materiality, a specific form of organization, or any other aspect of a phenomenon. I.e. various "phenomena become resources ...only when incorporated within processes of structuration"(Giddens, 1984:33) where they serve as facility of power and domination. "More accurately, 'commandeered' resources can be regarded as 'resources-in-practice', akin to Orlikowski's concept of 'technologies-in-practice' (see p.193)..." - as Stillman (2006:155) points out.

The changes in resourcing halted institutional isomorphic pressures (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983) deforming the Association into growingly bureaucratic, equilibrium-seeking entity. They were also intertwined with transformations in patterns of structuration by generating the primacy of collaboration instead of domination and enabling an organic and self-organizing, endogenous and self-governing pattern of development. I.e. the Neighbourhood Association seems to justify that the structuration may follow an altered, association-prone (re-) configuration where reciprocity and sharing feedback with co-inspiration and enactment by generating a shift to *collaboration* as '*primary structure*' which replaces domination. In commons of volunteers a collaboration driven constellation may replace settings where authority and property interplaying with authorization and allocation bring about domination²⁶⁶. Consequently, by rewording Giddens' (1984)²⁶⁷ arguments this new configuration can be formulated as: "[Collaboration] depends upon the mobilization of two distinguishable types of resources. [Enactable] resources refer to capabilities - or, more accurately, to forms of transformative capacity - generating [ability to enact] objects, goods or

²⁶⁵ "Significantly, the reference to resources is not to the materiality of an object, or capacity to organise in a particular way, but rather, to the capabilities or capacities of agents to command either allocative or authoritative resources (Giddens 1979a: 100)..."(Stillman, 2006:155).

²⁶⁶ "Domination' and 'power' cannot be thought of only in terms of asymmetries of distribution but have to be recognized as inherent in social association (or I would say in human action as such). Thus...power is not an inherently noxious phenomenon, not just the capacity to 'say no'; nor can domination be 'transcended' in some kind of putative society of the future, as has been the characteristic aspiration of at least some strands of socialist thought"(Giddens, 1984:31-32).

²⁶⁷ "Domination depends upon the mobilization of two distinguishable types of resources. Allocative resources refer to capabilities - or, more accurately, to forms of transformative capacity - generating command over objects, goods or material phenomena. Authoritative resources refer to types of transformative capacity generating command over persons or actors"(Giddens, 1984:33).

material phenomena. [Co-inspirative] resources refer to types of transformative capacity generating [ability to cooperate with] persons or actors”(Giddens, 1984:33). To put it another way, the mobilization of two distinguishable types of resources - namely co-inspirative and ‘enactable’ - enables collaboration to take place through reciprocity and sharing²⁶⁸.

The empowering impact of the altered - horizontal, decentralized and sharing - resourcing was intertwined with the resources’ profoundly relational character enacted (and interpreted) in context of association-prone dynamism of structuration. This constellation embraces also the pronounced role of motivation, trust and capability creation feed backing with elevated significance of soft resources and networking pattern of resourcing - discussed below. The decision of the new board of the Neighbourhood Association providing primacy for locally available resources was intertwined and also presupposed the consistent enforcement of the modularity of contributions.

Modularity of contributions

“A: ...[we were trying] to make this kind of responsibilities and power [divided] in small pieces so...they do not [overburden]...don’t exhaust you. Because this is freewill [activity] ...We are not even calling it work ...[it] comes from passion...and we think that it has to be fun and [therefore]...you can be given back at least as much as you give.

Q: You mean that by doing that activity you will feel so much joy or flow that your energy which you put into common efforts will be recreated by the results which are generated...

A: Yes! And [that is] why we chop [tasks]...into small pieces”(100-20-29-5:669-679) - describes the board’s coordinator ways and significance of the modularity of contributions.

The systematic implementation of the “modularity of contributions” (Benkler, 2011) by limiting the complexity of particular tasks decreased also their resource-intensity by making their fulfilment (relatively) easy²⁶⁹. The volunteers carrying out their tasks through their direct cooperative interactions could simultaneously identify, access, share and enact necessary resources from locally available sources. This constellation did not require resource accumulation and re-distribution through special organizational structures²⁷⁰ - often resource intensive, heavy and cumbersome hierarchies - what allowed improving the effectiveness of resourcing. The altered pattern enabled to capitalize also on sharing by making unnecessary to establish and maintain formal property through resource-intensive processes (Ostrom, 1990).

²⁶⁸ The Figure 4 provides a ‘graphical summary’ of these modified dimensions of the modalities of structuration.

²⁶⁹ In case of necessity the leaders had to involve experts with in depth knowledge of processes in order to plan proper task design enabling to (re-)integrate particular (process) components.

²⁷⁰ The residents contacted directly, without “mediation” of various organizational roles, which is characteristic of hierarchically organized, equilibrium-seeking organizations.

The modularity of contributions from personal point of view made easier to volunteer, to contribute to and participate in large and complex efforts²⁷¹. I.e. the combination of locally available resources and “modularity of contributions” (Benkler, 2011) allowed involve growing number of volunteering participants into self-organizing implementation of often large and complex tasks. The cooperative interactions’ increasing number extended also the overall volume of mobilized resources. I.e. the limitation of the size of single personal tasks and their resource intensity²⁷² in interplay with focusing on locally available resources somewhat paradoxically could increase the collective resource base and simultaneously improve the effectiveness of resourcing. The systematic division of volunteer activities into small, easy to fulfil tasks and the primacy of locally available resources presupposed, enabled, and catalysed each other²⁷³ by reshaping the character and processes of resourcing.

Horizontal, decentralized, and sharing resourcing

The residents reacted positively to the boards’ attempts to connect their collaborative interactions with simultaneous resourcing by enacting locally available sources. I.e. the volunteers implemented tasks through personal contacts or communicative interactions (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995) by simultaneously enacting - identifying, accessing, mobilizing, as well as multiplying and sharing - necessary volume of mostly distributed resources²⁷⁴. The pattern combining the modularity of contributions and the enactment of locally available resources successfully capitalized on the resources’ relational character by enabling mutually catalytic interplay between the volunteers’ self-organizing and ‘self-resourcing’. The modularity of contributions through improved effectiveness of resourcing catalysed both the take up of the mass level self-organizing and the emergence of large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011).

The board by systematically “praying transparency” and convincing local players to provide information about their activities and plans successfully generated an abundant flow of

²⁷¹ Actually, the “modularity of contributions” (Benkler, 2011) did not exclude to work on multiple topics and offer complex and more difficult contributions if somebody wished to do so.

²⁷² The logic is diametrically opposite to business models aiming to minimise the participants’ number and maximise the size and resource intensity of individual ‘contributions’ by increasing efficiency and profitability.

²⁷³ Although these changes may seem similar to the ones connected to the conveyer system of Ford, the contextual differences prevent the alienating and estranging side-effects. The sense and perception of belonging and contributing in order to make a difference provides the meaningful character of volunteer activity. I.e. the volunteer non-wage work follows in institutional, relational and work dimensions patterns which are profoundly different from the ones characterizing the wage work carried out to “earn a living”.

²⁷⁴ The local availability of resources meant global reach due to high quality connectivity through broad band.

information. This in turn facilitated the residents' growing awareness of and participation in multiple (self-organizing) activities and their contributions mobilized significant volume of resources by simultaneously extending the resource base. I.e. the enhanced self-communication²⁷⁵ enabled and facilitated also to improve resourcing in multiple ways. The volunteers' communicative interactions allowed mobilizing highly distributed resources dispersed in the inter-organizational space by expanding the collective resource base²⁷⁶.

The self-communication interplayed with growing institutional primacy of non-zero-sum approach and enacted and (re-)generated association-prone institutional settings or (patterned) structures (Giddens, 1984). I.e. the volunteers' self-communication carrying out association-prone institutional shift generating primacy of non-zero-sum approach and interdependence enabled to overcome the misleading dual perception of seeing 'the game' as zero-sum and the resources as per definition scarce. The association-prone institutional settings that the volunteers enacted in turn enabled and amplified their self-communication facilitating their (communicative) interactions carrying out also resourcing simultaneously. I.e. the association-prone cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) that the self-communication enacted operated, served as institutional-type, 'soft' catalytic, *organizing platforms*. They facilitated various processes in multiple dimensions simultaneously including resourcing, communication, and cooperation. The residents' communicative interactions simultaneously capitalized on and amplified their intellectual, creative, emotional, psychological and relational energies - moreover, re-generated trust and motivation to cooperate, i.e. mobilized and multiplied important resources.

The self-communication also enabled the interacting volunteers' mutual adaptation operating as coordinating mechanism. I.e. it allowed the community members interacting at autonomous manner and facilitated their parallel and distributed interactions' aggregation into cooperative efforts. The volunteers' interactions simultaneously could enact also resources by capitalizing on their relational character. I.e. the volunteers' mutually adaptive, parallel and distributed (communicative) interactions simultaneously mobilized the necessary (volume and quality of) *distributed resources* by carrying out their *horizontal and decentralized enactment*.

²⁷⁵ The volunteer co-operators' intertwined intra- and interpersonal dialogues enacted association-prone institutional settings while carrying out sense and decision making (Stacey, 2000, 2010) and aggregated into (continuous) self-communication (Castells, 2009).

²⁷⁶ Although these diffused resources exhibit often significant volume and high quality, they are largely disregarded and usually remain undetected by and inaccessible for market and public sector players.

Symbiotic capability creation

The Neighbourhood Association catalysed the volunteers self-organizing efforts aiming to improve their life quality partly through strengthening the effectiveness of collective resourcing. The volunteers' self-communication simultaneously generated the residents' awareness of the reciprocal advantage that their cooperative efforts could bring about by creating and amplifying in turn their readiness and motivation for enhanced collaboration²⁷⁷. Such awareness could also catalyse the volunteers' efforts aiming symbiotic and synergetic generation (and upgrading) of new capacities and capabilities facilitating to improve the effectiveness of resourcing, to broaden and upgrade the collective resource base. The knowledge repository of the Neighbourhood Association²⁷⁸, the mentoring for the junior artists in the Artist Community, the access of the users to the digital platform of the Caring TV during the holidays are some of the many examples of such capability co-creation.

The growing awareness of reciprocal advantages that the symbiotic co-creation of new capabilities could generate in collective resourcing by improving life quality re-generated and amplified the volunteers' motivation to repeat similar collaborative efforts. I.e. this constellation could facilitate the volunteers' growing readiness to co-create new capabilities. Moreover, it catalysed the mutually catalytic tendencies' transformation into self-enforcing feedback loops with their subsequent aggregation into an upswing spiral of strengthening collaborative tendencies allowing improvements in resourcing in multiple ways²⁷⁹.

Networking pattern of resourcing

The new board of Association systematically catalysed collaboration also with two neighbouring districts²⁸⁰ and facilitated to establish and broaden contacts among local civil

²⁷⁷ The residents' growing awareness of mutual, shared advantage that their cooperation could offer strengthened the underlying dual institutional primacy of non-zero-sum approach and the acceptance of the interdependence by enhancing association-seeking attitudes. The awareness of these favourable tendencies catalysed enhanced cooperation-seeking, which could increasingly replace the dominance-seeking competition for resources perceived as per-definition scarce. (These trends facilitated to reshape also structuration as discussed in subchapter 3.3). I.e. the self-communication contributed to co-create new capabilities enabling to improve the effectiveness of resourcing, to extend and upgrade the collectively accessible resource base.

²⁷⁸ Since potential future leaders were seen as 'key resource' for the Association the board initiated workshops to elaborate long-term visions and initiatives that allowed also identifying and training new (groups of) "actives".

²⁷⁹ As Nowak (2006) points out: "Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of evolution is its ability to generate cooperation in a competitive world. Thus, we might add "natural cooperation" as a third fundamental principle of evolution beside mutation and natural selection". These trends could also contribute to unleash cooperation trap (Csányi, 1989), and facilitate mutual aid (Kropotkin, 1902, 1972) or natural cooperation (Nowak, 2006).

²⁸⁰ "Q: So you hope to involve new players from Arabianranta and from outside...
A: ...It's very important [the cooperation among the] three areas...

society players and diverse external partners. The board facilitated through professional enabling the interplay of growing association-prone dynamism and mutual advantage-seeking with networking pattern of resourcing. The networking model in resourcing - similarly to value creation and power relations - was characterized by mutual advantage-seeking among increasing number of participants. Its "...core assumption [was]...that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members...[similarly to] Internet"(Rifkin, 2011:268). This constellation capitalized on growing radius of trust allowing extending cooperation also among members of different communities²⁸¹ through "engagement into non-linear relationships" (Plowman et al, 2007).

Soft resources

The new board of the Neighbourhood Association - by focusing on locally available resources and through modularity of contributions catalysing the residents' mass self-organizing - successfully facilitated also the mobilization of the soft resources possessing non-depletable and non-rivalrous character (Bollier, 2007:28). These soft resources similar to *knowledge* possess important *specificities* - they are (self-) multipliable; they can increase both their quality and even quantities during their usage - instead of outwear and consume them. As the knowledge plausibly demonstrate soft resources can be freely shared without decreasing the volume or the quality of the 'part' remaining at disposal of 'donors'. Additionally, the (re-) combination of existing knowledge 'pieces' can generate new knowledge. Moreover, the knowledge can - partly or fully - replace other resources, i.t. it can serve as 'ultimate substitute'. Since the soft resources are non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28) or multipliable or self-multiplying they can contribute to expansion and upgrading of the collective resource base.

Q: ...you are thinking in three areas? ...You opened up consciously...

A: Yes! Very consciously!

Q: ...you feel that capacities, resources will be better used by joining your efforts"(100-20-29-5:641-656) - explains the new board's coordinator resourcing related advantages of networking with neighbouring districts.

"A: ...we are now writing down all kind of...manuals and all kind of... ideas and ...principles and try to get it... ...as accessible [as possible] ...we are ...trying to help ...in Helsinki other Neighbourhood Associations. ...I am sitting also in HELKA which is a head organization ...[of] all Helsinki Neighbourhood associations. And we try to get funding for ...schooling for every Neighbourhood Association ...[to train] facilitators and [prepare] working tools ...to have in every neighbourhood one ...facilitator who could ... [establish] work groups [by collecting] new active persons ... [and prepare] concrete plans"(100-20-29-5:1215-1241) - describes the new board's coordinator how advantageous may be shared efforts aiming to co-create new capabilities.

²⁸¹ I.e. it allowed upgrading cooperation by crossing boundaries of particular civil society entities and catalysing their networking self-upgrading - discussed in subchapter 3.4.

Indeed the sharing of ‘soft’ resources, especially information, knowledge, and creativity, became fundamental practice in communities. The volunteers, who work ‘for free’, regularly share resources and mutually provide free access to results²⁸². The local users’ creativity may serve as fundamental resource of cooperative efforts aiming to generate innovative services capable to fulfil genuine local needs as the Living Laboratories’ experience exemplifies²⁸³. The large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011) often mobilize through the volunteers’ participative competition the (self-)multiplying capacity of soft resources in order to find better solutions.

Commonly accepted visions may serve as another important ‘soft’ resource of cooperative efforts - especially in clusters of life sharing, participation and agency, and local professional enabling. The visions, the emerging collective self-image may contribute to team-spirit, enhance the wish to belong, and strengthen the readiness to cooperate. The residents’ engagement into preparation of visionary programs may mobilize significant intellectual and emotional energies²⁸⁴. By contrast the lack or blurredness of vision can disable to act or decrease its effectiveness.

The “...amount and timing of financial (budgetary) resources do not exhibit the key for our future. There are rather our thoughts about the present and the changes we commit ourselves what decides our future...”(100-20-64-11:1) - emphasizes the statute of the Magistrate, the innovative program coordinating entity of e-Democracy efforts in Aba.

The emerging “...visions of future demonstrated positive effect by reaching every individual resident and becoming accepted by them... It facilitated to overcome the blurredness of options for action, which is the biggest (and frequently unrecognized) obstacle of acting. The citizens possess willingness to help and it is relatively easy to mobilize them to work for the sake of a good cause...”(100-20-64-21:12) - points out experts of the e-Democracy program in Aba with regard to crucial significance of overcoming the lack or blurredness of vision.

“A: ...this was a truly phenomenal thing what happened here with...telecom. Now we are a little bit...how would I say... Our minds are...bit blurred. We don’t know exactly...

²⁸² The open source communities take special care to ensure that the software and other outputs, which they co-create, would remain “open”. They guarantee through implementing GPL and other free, “copy left” licenses that no one of the participants could monopolize the result(s) of collaborative efforts.

²⁸³ “A: ...great innovations sometimes come from areas of scarce resources. ...If you don’t have resources, the need creates sustainability. ...the sustainability can ...come in business terms applying efficient, cheap technology ...you don’t have to lay cables, there is ...radio wave ...less physical investment taking place ...end terminals are cheaper and cheaper, on average like four times cheaper than pc’s. Pc’s ...open creative communities ...prove new sustainable ways of producing, consuming things”(100-20-5-5:188-200) - argues the expert for advantages that open innovation may propose.

²⁸⁴ In Aba the major successfully engaged the inhabitants into preparation of multiple visions including their blue ocean strategy. The systematic involvement of experts in designing and implementation of local e-Democracy program played also positive role.

A: ...where to go, what to do”(100-20-19-5:305-307) - points out a professor of Oulu University the importance of common visions as key driver and resource.

Motivation and trust creation

The new board of the Neighbourhood Association payed particular attention to ensure “unconditional primacy of transparency” and systematically facilitated the residents’ self-communication by generating cooperative atmosphere, catalysing mutual trust and motivation to collaborate. The systematic implementation of the modularity of contributions proposing numerous, small scale, easy to fulfil tasks²⁸⁵ enhanced the residents’ satisfaction and catalysed their readiness to contribute. This favourable constellation combining trust²⁸⁶, readiness and motivation to cooperate served as a key resource having no replacement.

The motivation to cooperate can be connected with and shaped by (perceived) needs and ways of their fulfilment (Maslow, 1943) therefore it can arrive from multiple sources²⁸⁷. One’s interest in a particular activity, the wish to socialize, to enjoy belonging and making a difference could be potential sources of motivation to participate in cooperative pursuits - as the analysed case-community clusters also exemplify. Similarly the casual character of the volunteers’ relationships can be motivating to socialise, to “participate for the sake of participation” by avoiding playing various social roles, fulfilling contradicting expectations – i.e. to be yourself. Changing life situations can also generate needs and interests bringing about motivation to participate in diverse networks and forums²⁸⁸. More ‘ethereal’ factors - similar to one’s awareness of being “person in community”²⁸⁹ - may also motivate one’s participation.

²⁸⁵ The modularity of contributions interplayed with the primacy of locally available resources.

²⁸⁶ Developments in Living Laboratories efforts on Turku Archipelago and in Mórahalom convincingly justified the focal role of trust. Although the creation and maintenance of (mutual) trust was time-consuming, required long-term accumulation of social capital and systematic efforts, its absence or insufficiency proved to be crucial bottleneck and it seemed to lack substitutes.

²⁸⁷ The volunteers are ready to provide also unilateral contributions since they follow asymmetric, asynchronous, multi-party, and open-ended patterns of reciprocity or mutuality as discussed in section on value creation.

²⁸⁸ “A: ...you [may] systematically participate in certain groups, which are...important for your life for certain reasons. If you’re having a child ...you are participating in daddy’s forum ...get information for yourself and share information, which helps you. It strengthens you probably even in hard to handle situation you face with...in your work life ...if you are going to a transformation: should I skip this job and go somewhere else? There are probably a million other guys...in the same situation...around the world ...it helps either to build your certainty - should I do it? ...then if yes, which direction should I go?”(100-20-22-5:60-70) - describes the deputy-major of Turku Archipelago various motivations to participate in (virtual) communities.

²⁸⁹ The awareness being ‘person in community’ (Whitehead, 1929; Cobb, 2007; Nonaka et al, 2008), belonging to the global human community may also create tacit or completely unconscious motivation to socialize.

In turn the very *participation* can also *(re-)generate motivation* on multiple ways. The engagement into collective efforts may bring about one's energized focus, full involvement, and elevated motivation in success of cooperative efforts by creating *flow experience* (Csikszentmihályi, 1990). The participation and contribution may create such mental state of full immersion, the 'happiness of cooperation and co-creation' independently from the actual field or outcome of the particular activity. The flow can feedback also with altered, participative patterns of competition by catalysing motivation and creative energies.

The volunteer participation in various cooperative efforts may fulfil simultaneously one's higher level needs (Maslow, 1943) facilitating empowering individuation and creating motivation to participate. The motivation in personal context may capitalize on fulfilment of self-esteem (feel worthy, respected, have socially accepted status), self-actualization (creativity and playfulness, self-fulfilment and achievement), and even on self-transcendence (seek a cause beyond the self through 'peak experience') (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006). Moreover, these phenomena may become mutually catalytic by forming self-enforcing feedback loops by amplifying association-prone trends.

The motivation to volunteer may have multiple sources, which can be independent also from the success or failure of a particular collective effort. What is more, the apprehension of - causes and contexts of previous - mistakes and failures may motivate attempts to overcome them²⁹⁰. I.e. efforts remaining partly or fully unsuccessful, strangely enough, may exhibit even stronger (individuating and) motivating effects than successful ones.

One's motivation to volunteer may arrive from many sources at the same time and it may serve as resource of crucial importance for cooperative efforts. The volunteers' enhanced motivation to collaborate interplays with their increasing self-communication extending the radius of trust and generating the growingly association-prone character of the institutional dimension²⁹¹. This institutional-relational constellation may create self-enforcing feedback loops with altered, horizontal and decentralized patterns of resourcing.

²⁹⁰ Similar developments may simultaneously shape one's autonomous self and holistic personality. I.e. the intercourse with others enables and gives meaning to personal autonomy - somewhat paradoxically.

²⁹¹ Due to strengthening association-prone institutional-relational tendencies cooperation may become a value and norm 'per se'.

The renewed board of Neighbourhood Association catalysed favourable shifts in resourcing in multiple ways. These changes were intertwined with significant institutional alterations facilitating the dual-primacy of non-zero sum approach and interdependence. Such association-prone institutional constellation emerged through the volunteers' vivid self-communication creating awareness of increased effectiveness of cooperative resourcing and improved life quality²⁹². This 'demonstrative effect' amplified the residents' motivation to contribute to cooperative efforts - even unilaterally²⁹³. The board's efforts simultaneously facilitated (i) to improve the effectiveness of resourcing and (ii) to accelerate the spread of self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006) and the emergence of large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011). The limitation of the size and resource intensity of single personal tasks - somewhat paradoxically²⁹⁴ - could increase the collective resource base. Consequently, the proper delimitation of tasks and the focus shift on locally available sources turned *resourcing* into *flexible, self-regulating* and *self-organizing* process. The professional enabling through deploying modularity of contributions and flexible methods of local resourcing catalysed the individual interactions' smooth self-organizing aggregation into mass collaboration - as discussed in details in subchapter N 3.3.

The cooperative enhancement of the effectiveness of collective resourcing allowing life quality improvements strengthened the residents' motivation to volunteer. Acting as volunteer co-operators they were ready to 'be at service', to serve mutually as the "best resources for each other"(Stillman, 2006) what in turn could facilitate also their empowering individuation - as the next section elaborates.

Empowerment and individuation

The Neighbourhood Association's new board successfully catalysed the residents' growing mass-participation in multi-coloured self-organizing collaborative efforts carried out in diverse communities, which simultaneously shaped the volunteers personality. The various

²⁹² The self-communication could catalyse the awareness of both positive outcomes of cooperation and negative consequences of dominance-seeking competition. I.e. it could also bring about growing awareness of increasing collective "costs" of dominance-seeking, which could limit, damage, and diminish collective resource base, and generate growing multidimensional unsustainability.

²⁹³ Since the volunteers perceive reciprocity and mutuality at asymmetric and asynchronous, multi-party and open-ended manner, they may be ready and motivated to offer unilateral contributions to collaboration.

²⁹⁴ This logic is diametrically opposite to the market sector's proprietary model aiming to decrease, minimise the number of participants and maximise the size and resource intensity of individual 'contributions' by increasing efficiency and profitability.

communities and commons offered inspiring and creative atmosphere, provided possibility to socialize by carrying out cooperative efforts in commonly appreciated fields and by re-creating caring and emphatic relationships. The communities enabled their members' empowering individuation or self-transformation as well as their vivid self-communication, which facilitated their awareness of both these changes and their genuine importance. The empirical data confirm findings of the related literature indicating that one's voluntary participation in common efforts may facilitate to craft the individual members' autonomous self or holistic personality independently from the actual field of activity of a civil society organization. Indeed as life-sharing communities' cluster indicates the volunteers are frequently explicitly aware of these personal alterations:

"A: ... I have changed since I started to... more get involved into art...

...A: I am not the same person as I was...

Q: You made personal transformation?

A: Yes! Sounds like..."(100-20-26-5:457-466) - admits the coordinator of Artist community.

"A: ...Day after day you work there and you see the potential... There must be some kind of knowledge inside you that you have been invited to that work. And you realize that it is your own development process in this life. ...that is...what young adults...[are] looking for nowadays ...intuition and enthusiasm ...this warms me up... That is very important"(100-20-4-5:390-402) - emphasizes the expert from Silvia koti with regard to importance to experience flow facilitating empowering individuation.

The participation in cooperative efforts may contribute to individual and collective empowerment and personal individuation, i.e. may be constitutive of one's "...own development process in this life"(100-20-4-5:395-396) as the coordinator in Silvia koti points out. The volunteers' contributions may generate positive effects in personal context independently from the activity's success - i.e. whether or not it produces the foreseen outputs. In fact the most important outcome of the volunteers' participation in and contribution to collective pursuits aiming improving life quality is their individual and collective self-transformation. It takes place as intertwined empowerment and individuation, which often may remain an at least partly tacit development. Consequently the communities may become the "pole of existence... the underlying basic reference point" (Vitányi, 2007:111) for their members as previous research indicates²⁹⁵.

"...There is an important distinction between...- what could be called selfish individualism - and what is sometimes referred to as individuation...Beck and Giddens...argue. Individuation

²⁹⁵ The "...third sector is where we participate, even on the simplest of levels, in the most important journey of life - the exploration of the meaning of our existence"(Rifkin, 2011:268).

is the freeing up of people from their traditional roles and deference to hierarchical authority, and their growing capacity to draw on wider pools of information and expertise and actively chose what sort of life they lead. Individuation is...as Beck points out... about the politicization of day-to-day life; the hard choices people face...in crafting personal identities and choosing how to relate to issues such as race, gender, the environment, local culture, and diversity” - points out Grenier (2006:124-125).

The individuation may feedback with empowerment which “[unfolds as a] multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important... To create change we must change individually to enable us to become partners in solving the complex issues facing us. In collaborations based on mutual respect, diverse perspectives, and a developing vision, people work toward creative and realistic solutions. This synthesis of individual and collective change ...is our understanding of an empowerment process” - argue Page and Czuba (1999).

The volunteer cooperation generates a tendency to empowerment, which interplays with altered perception and exercising of power as lateral - rather than top-down – process:

“Q: ...that is a tricky thing - who is empowered by whom?

A: ...I think that those people, when they are interacting, they are empowering themselves.

Q: So it's a kind of self-empowerment through contacts and co-operation.

A: ...of course you need some kind of intervention, for example if you are discussing about innovation ...you have to have some moderator. But ...the added value comes from those people ...the empowerment...is not ...top-down process”(100-20-2-5:48-54) - argues the expert of the Laurea University's Well Life Centre.

The concrete manner, way, and mechanism of empowering individuation may and do vary in particular cases depending on concrete contingencies (Tsoukas, 1989). Moreover, empowering and disempowering tendencies are present and active simultaneously and their actual (dis-)empowering character often depends on (contingent) changes in context²⁹⁶.

The access to social networks enables participation in self-communication (Castells, 2009) that can enhance autonomy and make life more equal and much richer also in rural and remote areas by offering empowering effects:

²⁹⁶ The clusters' cross-case analysis indicates simultaneous presence and changing proportion of empowering and dis-empowering trends those interplay is affected by actual contexts - which may also change.

“A: ...you are handicapped today if you aren’t comfortable with the computer and the web..... And this combined...with virtual networks is probably one thing that ...could be a strength for the rural area. ...It is very isolated as in a limited sphere of connections of people it’s very hard to find information. ...So it makes these persons...life more equal and...much richer ...[by] starting...systematically to participate in certain groups, which are at the moment important for your life for certain reasons”(100-20-22-5:60-80) - describes the deputy-major of Turku Archipelago emancipating effects that the fibered vision offers.

However, also the self-communication generates dual effects in context of (self-) empowerment. It may facilitate authentic meaning and sense creation, but may bring about also exposure to manipulative communication powers (Castells, 2009). The volunteers’ growing awareness of these negative trends may help to prevent distorting effects of communication power deployed by disempowering ‘selfish interests’.

The context dependence and ‘relativity’ of whether a particular trend proves to be empowering or disempowering the sharing transformation cluster demonstrates most plausibly. The volunteer cooperation in this cluster is “embedded” in environment(s) characterised by diverging, often opposing, trends, features and properties. The firms aim to harness the positive effects of the volunteers’ empowered non-wage work in order to boost the profitability of - often dis-empowering - ‘internal’ wage work. Due to such ambiguity of context, the empowerment may be constitutive of simultaneous disempowering tendencies in another aspect. Such contextual dependence of (dis-)empowerment is present also in other clusters²⁹⁷. It may appear as “simple” failure of empowering efforts (civil society enhancement project in Veresegyház) or lack of the outcomes’ sustainability (the farmers open innovation efforts on Turku Archipelago).

The five explored clusters demonstrate that the creativity as a “generic essence”²⁹⁸ of all human beings may appear through diverse activities and in multiple forms²⁹⁹. Indeed, the communities may serve as domains for very broad, quasi-infinite variations of volunteer activities seen as creative and meaningful³⁰⁰. The community members see common

²⁹⁷ Participation in social networks, even one’s enhanced capacity to communicate with members of personal core-group, depending from context may turn out to be conducive of empowerment or (dis-) empowering effects.

²⁹⁸ Probably this formulation is capable to express a meaning close to the German “Gattungswesen”.

²⁹⁹ “The creative process has stochastic character, i.e. it is improvisational, variational, and combinative” - recalls Vitányi (2007), referring to the indications offered by Chomsky (1965, 1980).

³⁰⁰ “Encore.org is helping reframe how we think about work”(Mook et al., 2015:246) and retirement. The latter is seen as way of personal transformation, as“...the beginning of a new chapter...in which I can be active and involved, start new activities, and use my skills and experience to help others in paid or volunteer position” for 31 % of the responders (MetLife Foundation/ Civic ventures, 2011:12)”(Mook et al., 2015:246).

achievements as their individual success therefore perceive participation and contribution as empowering. Since the communities offer favourable context enabling creative self-fulfilment and self-activation the volunteers' participation in different collective efforts contributes to their empowering individuation. Their communicative interactions may facilitate their members' self- and social consciousness and may contribute to growing awareness of "grounding basic qualities of humanity"(100-20-4-5:764)³⁰¹.

"A: ...people can make choices in their everyday life ...when they don't want to buy some products or they don't want to have car...because they want to change the world. ...also the climate change is one big questions ...people ...already started to think [whether] will ...be a future for our children? ...we have Internet, we have globalization, we have climate change ...free market or free tread...all of them...lead to the same direction. People are talking and thinking more and more about future...they think about their children"(100-20-6-5:425-437) - explains the former coordinator of the Finnish knowledge society program the empowering potential of participation in self-communication unfolding frequently through social networks.

"We hope that Loppukiri serves as an example which has effects in ...Finnish society...The most significant result is perhaps that initiatives of citizens are now appreciated more and valued better than before"(100-20-27-8:5) - indicate the Active Seniors the potential social significance of the care taking model they elaborated in their answers to an EU questionnaire.

The communities - through aggregation of various changes affecting simultaneously the individual members and their cooperative relationships - may transform themselves into "communities of empowered"³⁰². I.e. the strong underlying tendency to enhanced collaboration related to association-prone institutional trends is empowering. The collaboration allows and facilitates the volunteers' transformation into genuine, active 'power holders' from passive 'subjects' of power. Such mutual (self-) empowerment may take place through self-organizing collaboration feed backing with accumulation of social capital enabling trustful (communicative) relationships. Consequently the community members' volunteer cooperation may generate alterations simultaneously in multiple dimensions and facilitate their aggregation into social change - i.e. enable social agency as the next section discusses.

Social agency

The Neighbourhood Associations' self-transformation into a professional enabler generated broader changes and their accumulation by catalysing the local civil society's robust (self-) empowerment. The civil society ceased to be object of rather paternalistic, top-down

³⁰¹ They may become aware of "being person in community" and of belonging to global human commons as the coordinator from Silvia koti explains.

³⁰²The analysis of the communities' networking self-upgrading in subchapter 3.4 elaborates on it in details.

professional enabling unfolding in frame of “externally” structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006). The Associations’ self-transformation and activity as professional enabler facilitated and were constitutive of the “maturation” of local civil society allowing picking up its enhanced self-empowerment. I.e. the Neighbourhood Associations’ self-transformation into professional enabler generated broader changes catalysing robust (self-) empowerment of the local civil society. Through feed backing multidimensional alterations it became truly self-governing entity capable empower itself through systematic bottom-up efforts, the residents’ volunteer cooperation and self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006). The board facilitated to establish contacts, initiate and enhance networking with any interested players of the global civil society, among others through the Living Laboratories’ rapidly globalizing network. I.e. the Neighbourhood Association successfully promoted systematic cooperation ‘with global reach’ among diverse entities of local civil societies.

The new board by orchestrating the residents’ volunteer cooperation in multiple frames and forms facilitated to transform the Association and ultimately catalysed shifts in the development model of the entire district. Feed backing pattern-shifts unfolded simultaneously in multiple dimensions including institutional and power relations, communication, resourcing, and organizing. Their interplay brought about incremental, but interplaying and mutually catalytic alterations aggregating into “continuous radical change” (Plowman et al., 2007a,b). The new board of Association through feed backing alterations accumulating into multi-dimensional, systemic changes transformed the entire district by affecting also its broader environment. I.e. the Association facilitated overarching model shift by consequently catalysing the residents’ cooperation carrying out social agency.

A: I can help people... come together and then they will go on...”(100-20-29-5:753-758). “A: ...I am enjoying what kind of things we can do with the Neighbourhood Association. ...we can ... [facilitate to achieve] so many things... ...it seems like kind of “Alice in Wonderland” that you can do [so many things] with this very small, limited power, which we have...as representatives of [residents in] this area...”(100-20-29-5:550-554)“ - describes the strong transformational impacts of Neighbourhood Association the coordinator of its new board.

Everyone and “...all members of society exercise some measure of agency in the conduct of their daily lives...a capacity for agency is as much a given for humans as the capacity for respiration” - argues Sewell (1992:20). The agency is a fundamental treat and capability of every human being as the explored community clusters exemplify. The volunteering members during and through their recurrent, daily activities and choices may generate changes in multiple dimensions and catalyse their aggregation ultimately also at social level. I.e. their

iterative interactions simultaneously may create and be constitutive of the volunteers' (capability of) agency. Since the "...agency exercised by persons is collective in both its sources and its mode of exercise..."(Sewell, 1992:21) the individual community members carry out agency through cooperative interactions often unfolding as transformed, non-wage work. Indeed agency means "...to work in creative or innovative ways. And, if enough people or even a few people who are powerful enough act in innovative ways, their action may have the consequence of transforming the very structures that gave them the capacity to act" - points out Sewell (1992:4) at the empowering potential of interplay between creative non-wage work and - the patterns of - structuration³⁰³.

Although agency is frequently depicted as the capacity to act independently and make free choices by overcoming the limitations of the structures³⁰⁴ the "...structures must not be conceptualized as simply placing constraints on human agency, but as enabling..."(Giddens, 1976:161). The agency *is* created by one's knowledge of structures and by the capability to affect and change them. Since "...structure' must be regarded as a process, not as a steady state"(Sewell, 1992:4) the agency is created by one's capability to affect and alter processes of structuration³⁰⁵. In other words, the agents' knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984) means their ability to purposefully affect and change structures by simultaneously enacting and reproducing them³⁰⁶. Consequently, one's capability of agency is created by the "...capacity to transpose and extend schemas to new contexts, [what] is inherent in the knowledge of cultural schemas that characterizes all minimally competent members of society... Knowledge of a rule or a schema by definition means the ability to transpose or extend it - that is, to apply it creatively...in unfamiliar cases"(Sewell, 1992:18).

The changes of structures appear, are 'instantiated', in alterations of institutional settings, cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) and taken for granted perceptions shaping everyday life

³⁰³ The empowering creative and meaningful non-wage work carried out through innovative work patterns similar to peer-production, Living Laboratories, or open source communities may facilitate to transform wage-work and overcome its dis-empowering character.

³⁰⁴ According to this approach structures such as customs, social class, religion, gender and similar are dominant, restrictive institutional settings that limit the agents - freedom - to take decisions and act (Barker 2005:448).

³⁰⁵ The structures "...have only what [Giddens] terms a "virtual" existence (e.g., 1984, p. 17). Structures do not exist concretely in time and space except as "...memory traces, the organic basis of knowledgeability" (i.e., only as ideas or schemas lodged in human brains) and as they are 'instantiated in action' (i.e., put into practice)... Structures are not the patterned social practices that make up social systems, but the principles that pattern these practices... Social systems ... have no existence apart from the practices that constitute them, and these practices are reproduced by the 'recursive' (i.e., repeated) enactments of structures"(Sewell, 1992:6).

³⁰⁶ The interacting agents simultaneously enact, reproduce, (re-)shape, and transform structures (Sewell, 1992).

(Perez, 2002). The structures' modifications bring about alterations in daily life and praxis that ultimately may aggregate into social change(s); i.e. the 'social change-in-practice'³⁰⁷ unfolds as aggregation of changes in daily life and praxis. To put it another way: social changes take place when proclaimed institutional alterations - modifications of structures or more precisely processes of structuration - become *instantiated* in transformed patterns of *daily praxis*. I.e. societal change is *instantiated in changes of everyday life*, in transformation(s) of daily praxis:

"A: ...people can really make choices ...when they don't want to buy some products or they don't want to have car ...because they "want to change the world" ...[through] ...activism ...meaning that people can make choices in their everyday life. And it's happening more and more... People are talking and thinking more and more about future, because they think about their children..."(100-20-6-5:425-436) - describes former coordinator of Finnish knowledge society program how personal choices may aggregate into social changes and agency.

The members of communities volunteer to participate in common efforts unfolding as sharing and passionate co-creation, i.e. as transformed, empowering, and non-wage work. The altered work is a robust driver of the volunteer co-operators' empowering self-transformation allowing becoming the "subject of their own life" (100-20-27-5:206) as life sharing cluster indicates. Changes of work are interlinked with empowering individuation by simultaneously elevating collaborative relationships to a new, higher dimension and catalysing to overcome estrangement tendencies.

"Q: ...you have found yourself and you know why do you work...the community gives... enabling. And not everybody finds that ...

Q2: It's like self-actualization...?

A: That is part of the spirit of us ...everyone feels like that!"(100-20-29-5:362-366) - explains the coordinator how the members' cooperation in the Artist community generates changes - inspires their artistic efforts and personal transformation.

The communicative interactions may simultaneously generate association-prone institutional change(s) and the community members' self-communication (Castells, 2009) catalyses their self-awareness as clusters of social networking and self-communication indicate rather visibly. The enhanced awareness may simultaneously strengthen 'dissident thoughts' and accelerate institutional changes. I.e. the volunteers' increasing self-awareness is empowering, it may catalyse self- and social consciousness and contribute to the capacity of social agency:

"A: ...you can see it on the Facebook ...I have been really surprised that my middle aged friends ... most of them are men, are ...concerned about things I think they weren't before.

³⁰⁷ "...akin to Orlikowski's concept of 'technologies-in-practice'..."(2006:155-156) as Stillman recalls.

...Facebook has made me much more optimistic, because [it makes visible that] people are ...interested in ...questions ...maybe ...before...were afraid to talk or discuss ...

Q: You were alone...?

A: Yes! But now they see that I'm not the only one who's thinking like this. And even that director ...or that professor is thinking so ...I can also think like that. And say it. So that's also a kind of empowerment. ...people ...come to Internet and say that this not right" (100-20-6-5:440-450) - describes former coordinator of Finnish knowledge society program how agency by "going after the small picture" (Giddens, 1984, 1990) may take place in practice.

The volunteers' cooperative efforts may bring about transformations and enable to find solutions, often by tackling locally broader, even global challenges. The cooperative problem solving is empowering, it feeds back with individuation, growing self- and social consciousness, and the capability to carry out social agency at increasingly conscious manner:

"A: We wanted to create a housing community, where elderly people could live an active and a meaningful life, where privacy at home and community life in the house could be combined and where people could decide and rule their own living...(100-20-27-8:1). "...Living in a safe and peaceful environment with friends as long as possible will support the sustainable economic and social development in Europe"(100-20-27-8:7) - explain the Active Seniors in their answers to an EU questionnaire the potential broader transformational impacts of their collaborative efforts and self-organizing model.

The practical implementation of the "fibred vision" promoted by the deputy-major of the Turku Archipelago intended to generate multidimensional changes capable simultaneously affecting and catalysing among others new patterns of work, enhanced participation, and direct democracy³⁰⁸. The growing participation in self-organizing, 'physical' and virtual networks and communities could also facilitate the residents' genuine empowerment in 'deep' rural areas. The improved access to virtual space could contribute to an altered (micro-) regional development trajectory, i.e. facilitating the capability of social agency.

The communities by enabling altered patterns of work can also facilitate its re-connection with direct democracy and e-Democracy related developments³⁰⁹. These feedbacks potentially may facilitate non-wage work focused changes in social division of labour as case-communities in participation and agency cluster exemplify. Indeed through open innovation

³⁰⁸ The legislative changes initiated in frame of Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory allowing video-conferencing during decision making in local boards could contribute to more effective local decision making, to participation of the residents, and to broadening the circle of potential candidates to elected board members.

³⁰⁹ One's participation in various communities may facilitate to overcome separation from public affairs, while access to new e-Democracy tools alone may enhance "playing democracy" through consumption of democracy services by amplifying disempowering tendencies as the coordinator of e-Democracy unit in Finnish Ministry of Justice indicates. I.e. the communities may offer innovative forms of direct democracy by enabling to '(re-)link' public affairs into everyday life through catalysing voluntary participation that may facilitate to overcome disempowering (trends of) being separated from public affairs.

efforts the volunteers can simultaneously contribute to broader association-prone dynamism. Their cooperative pursuits generating and sharing social value, wealth and capital unfold as passionate and sharing co-creation, as altered work aiming to ‘beat a problem’ instead of to ‘beat competitors’. However, the duality of (dis-) empowering trends appears also in context of the open innovation. Although the Living Laboratories transform work and competition³¹⁰, generate association-prone internal dynamism, primacy of the social value, the radius of the association-prone changes and mutual trust often are limited by boundaries of a given community. I.e. cooperative efforts are effective only internally, while in relation to ‘externals’ they aim to gain ‘traditional’ competitive advantage³¹¹. The limited radius of association-prone changes may restrict also the (range of) the social agency.

Similar duality appears frequently in sharing transformations cluster since the Market sector players by orchestrating external resources try to tackle increasing global competitive pressures³¹². They harness through open innovation and similar alternative solutions significant potential that volunteer cooperation and non-traditional work patterns may offer. The firms establish and operate open platforms to collaborate with and participate in open source communities and Living Laboratories. The financial sector in order to catalyse improved value creation also have to capitalize on altered relationships with their co-workers and to use innovative models similar to social banking. The robust transformational effects of technology push accelerate feed backing changes even in global firms that may aggregate into broader, overarching transformations:

“A: We are very much internally trying to organize ourselves in different modalities, and it is an exploration journey for us ...we are truly hitting all our structures, starting from the quarterly planning, and how we set incentives, goals, objectives, individual objectives, starting from our hierarchy ...job families, job descriptions ...competences ...the way you

³¹⁰ The efforts to establish Living Laboratories aimed to transform, upgrade existing innovation ecosystems in both Oulu and the metropolitan area, and to create them locally on Turku Archipelago and in Mórahalom.

³¹¹ “A: ...it may be another point of the culture... That everybody finds their own part of the business. And mostly the companies are looking only their own part. They know that somebody else is taking care of the next part. And very often they say it: You better take care of that. And they can have activities together... ...they are not competitors. They decided not to compete with each other. And that is one of the big points... And that is the culture ...that the people are dividing ...share and looking what we are doing [and what] somebody else is doing ... all parts ...all shares are done”(100-20-15-5:502-512) - describes the director of the Oulu Innovation Agency the transformative effects of (non-)competition among local players.

³¹² “Q: It means that for a company today to be competitive requires the capacity to orchestrate new networks?

A: Yes!

Q: Which are reaching far broader...?

A: ...outside...

Q: then your legal entity? That is the new field of competition and competences?

A: That is very much the new field of competition where apart from IBM most companies are practitioners, none of them are very good at it”(100-20-9-5:144-151) - indicates the former top-manager of a global company the external resources’ growing importance for company competitiveness.

manage the knowledge”(100-20-7-5:325-330) - explain the crowd sourcing expert of a global company the firm’s overarching transformational efforts aiming to mobilize creative energies.

The external communities may enable market and also public sector players³¹³ to involve additional resources, and innovative ideas. However the practical implementation frequently is blocked and derailed by ‘traditional’ internal hierarchies and mechanisms consuming all available resources - especially creative minds. To transform innovative proposals into effective business cases proves to be a real challenge. It requires overcoming limitations generated by primacy of short-term profitability of particular organizational (sub-)units, i.e. by dominance of ‘cooperation within boundaries’ approach. Consequently, the effectiveness of open innovation requires overcoming limitations that organizational barriers create in cooperation:

“A: ...we get their ideas and then ...should be like business as usual, the usual road maps, as they usually doing it ...then our people saying that: Yes but our pipelines are full! And that is why I would love to challenge them that: OK! ...if the idea has been so good and you don’t accept it I give it to the ecosystem. ...what is good for the ecosystem is good for [the company]”(100-20-7-5:227-231) - describes the crowd sourcing expert of a global firm the daily difficulties to achieve resource fluidity (Doz and Kosonen, 2008) in large companies.

In contrast the volunteering community members’ relationships also with ‘non-members’ may have increasingly collaborative character that catalyses and amplifies association-prone dynamism by creating a tendency to extend cooperation beyond boundaries of particular entities. I.e. the volunteers follow cooperation-seeking attitude that may generate association-prone dynamism in their broader environment either. The Neighbourhood Association, the activity of various players of the leaders’ informal network in Oulu, the spread of self-communication in and across social networks, the vivid networking efforts initiated by Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory, and the rapidly globalizing Living Laboratory network are characteristic examples of such extended collaborative trends. The community members’ volunteer cooperation generates social - instead of economic - value, capital and wealth by enabling to improve collective life quality. They create associational (rather than competitive) advantage ‘for free’ by sharing it with everybody, i.e. by offering ‘open accesses’. I.e. they generate a tendency enhancing, upgrading association-prone dynamism also in interactions among members of diverse communities. The more intense is such networking among members of various communities, the more inclusive and non-fragmented cooperation they may generate and the stronger their external effect may be. Through such networking the

³¹³ The Helsinki Club that the major established to elaborate the new strategy of the Metropolitan area successfully mobilized multiple players from both market and public sector players.

volunteer cooperation may facilitate to scale down tensions and collisions in multiple ways even across social field(s). I.e. it enables to impact also their broader environment dominated by primacy of - or rather obsession with - competitive advantage³¹⁴.

Consequently, the communities' transformational dynamism brings about and is constitutive of their ability to generate multidimensional association-prone changes. These feed backing alterations affect simultaneously (i) the individual members, (ii) the character of their relationships, and (iii) the communities as a whole, and (iv.) may also facilitate extended cooperation among (members of) diverse communities. These profound changes affect the members and their cooperation and contribute to transformation into 'communities of empowered'. I.e. the communities carry out self-transformation which unfolds through and in turn facilitates the members' empowering individuation and may elevate cooperation into a qualitatively higher dimension³¹⁵. The communities' networking self-transformation links local changes related to increased association-prone dynamism with broader, ultimately societal transformations. I.e. may connect local relational networks with large scale social patterns (Granovetter, 1973) by aggregating local alterations into social changes. Consequently, the communities' capability to carry out social agency is the outcome of the volunteer's cooperation that generates multidimensional changes by aggregating them into robust transformational dynamism. The thesis assumes that this transformational dynamism is connected with the underlying interplay between self-organizing and altered configuration of structuration - as the next subchapter discusses in details.

3.3 Sources and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism

The current subchapter analyses the sources and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism. It explores how interplaying real events in actual domain feedback with mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism³¹⁶ unfolding in real domain. The analysis of changes in the Neighbourhood Association, which is seen as sample-case, and in the explored clusters of case-communities indicate that the feed backing multidimensional alterations may simultaneously bring about association-prone re-

³¹⁴ Therefore they may bring cooperation into competitive environment as Benkler (2011) points out.

³¹⁵ These changes are constitutive of and carry out the communities' networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third order (Vitányi, 2007) social entities, discussed in detail in sub-chapter 3.4.

³¹⁶ The personal, relational, and activity-related changes are also constitutive of qualitative shifts in cooperation among community members and of the communities' networking self-transformation. As discussed in details in sub-chapter 3.4 networking self-upgrading simultaneously catalyses and capitalises on growingly inclusive and un-fragmented character of cooperation and brings about its new dialectics. I.e. it enables to overcome limitations characteristic for 'cooperation within boundaries'.

configuration of structuration and aggregate into continuous self-organizing. The interplay among altered structuration and continuously unfolding self-organizing are generative and constitutive of the communities' transformational dynamism. I.e. their feedbacks may operate as underlying mechanism of such dynamics.

Sources and mechanisms of the community dynamism - Neighbourhood Association

The Neighbourhood Association, which was established as umbrella organization of the civil society in Arabianranta, by focusing on fundraising turned itself from civil society organization into bureaucratic equilibrium-seeking hierarchy, a pattern typical for market and public sector organizations. However, after some time the Association re-transformed itself into a genuine civil society organization acting as umbrella organization and carrying out professional enabling by generating robust social agency. The previous (subchapter 3.2) narrative analysis of these transformations enabled to identify interlinked real (change) events in actual domain and elaborate on feed backing constructs of community dynamism.

The study argues that the analysis of observed robust changes' underlying causal relations may facilitate to identify the community dynamism's sources and mechanisms unfolding in real domain. The next part examines transformations in Neighbourhood Association by deploying structuration theory. I.e. it capitalizes on indications of relevant research literature arguing that the structuration theory may serve as analytic tool of change processes taking place at meso level - for example in context of community organizations³¹⁷.

Reconfiguration of structuration

The transformations of the Neighbourhood Association following opposing trajectories took place under powerful isomorphic institutional pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) as the narrative analysis indicated. In the first case the isomorphism followed 'traditional patterns', i.e. the effects of organizational field consisting of market - and partly public - sector players, generated bureaucratic and hierarchical tendencies in the Association. These pressures with

³¹⁷ As Stillman (2006:136) indicates: "...a meso level can also be considered, something between the level of institutional analysis and the analysis of personal and interpersonal behaviour. The meso level could be represented, for example, by community organisations ...which operate at the boundaries of the personal and societal, and the macro level could represent the networked effects of such organisations at a larger social scale". "While Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration is posed at the level of society, his structuration processes, describing the reciprocal interaction of social actors and institutional properties, are relevant at multiple levels of analysis. The structurational model...allows us to conceive and examine the interaction...at interorganizational, organizational, group, and individual levels of analysis. This overcomes the problem of levels of analysis raised by a number of commentators (Kling 1987; Leifer 1988; Markus and Robey, 1988; Rousseau 1985)" - points out Orlikowski (1992:423).

time ‘crowded out’ and replaced the community members’ voluntary collaboration and ultimately transformed the Neighbourhood Association into quasi-equilibrium-seeking hierarchy.

These change tendencies emerged when the previous board of Association re-focused its activity on fundraising in frame of informal division of labour among the local service company (ADC) and various stakeholders in Arabianranta. The board aimed to ensure financing for large scale biennial events serving as attractions in order to boost local tourism. By acting as fundraiser and fund manager the Association became responsible to carry out financial operations and had to comply with strict legal requirements, manage thoroughly planned events by generating measurable outputs such as increased number of visitors³¹⁸.

In this frame the Association’s activity had to follow an altered logic where civil society happenings became ends serving local economic development. I.e. the basis of board’s accountability³¹⁹, the logic of norms of justification switched from the enabling of the residents’ socializing toward the stimulation of the local economic development. Although the development of the local economy in principle was perceived as tool to improve life quality in the district its primacy has meant profound shift that rapidly distracted the board’s attention from local civil society activities. The perception of viewing relationships as an end in itself that possess intrinsic value characteristic for the civil society was replaced with market sector approach where relationships are seen and handled as utility value serving to optimize material self-interest (Rifkin, 2011).

In a sense the Association, primarily its board transformed into a task based organizational unit of the local service company following the logic of the market sector instead of the civil society. Actually also the activity of ADC was exposed to similar pressures in the aftermath of 2008 financial crisis. The rapidly declining budgetary financing ‘took away’ resources which previously supported professional enabling of innovative initiatives and civil society related support activities.

³¹⁸ The most important indicator became the increment of the visitors’ spending and its contribution to profitability of the local tourism.

³¹⁹ Giddens (1984:29) points out at the significance of such accountability for structuration: “The idea of ‘accountability’ in everyday English gives cogent expression to the intersection of interpretative schemes and norms. To be ‘accountable’ for one’s activities is both to explicate the reasons for them and to supply the normative grounds whereby they may be ‘justified’...”(Giddens, 1984:30).

“A: ...Now we are more like working [unit]... Sometimes I feel like a city development department [rather] than...our own company. ...We won’t get any new money...now all the resources go in routines. We can’t any more start new developments ...[previously] our money was dedicated in one place and quite small amount went on...routines. ...it’s...a big challenge to get resources on...[long-term development] work where the results are quite far away...”(100-20-3-5:733-746) - describes the director of ADC the austerity’s negative consequences on innovation enhancement in frame of large scale development projects.

The Neighbourhood Association had to interact primarily with various grant managers and financial entities from market and public sectors providing funding for civil society applicants. This organizational field was characterized and shaped by domination and control focused power relations creating and maintaining robust institutional isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Due to these effects the board of Neighbourhood Association ceased to operate as and even to resemble a civil society organization. It rapidly and swiftly was reorganized into bureaucratic, equilibrium-seeking hierarchy characteristic for market and public sector entities. The board members’ communication - unfolding as aggregation of sense- and decision making intra- and inter-personal dialogues (Stacey, 2000, 2010) - in institutional dimension became dominated by and followed zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. Subsequently their communication with members of Association and with residents became growingly formal or ceremonial (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), and by time it was gradually terminated.

The board members’ relationships were shaped by competitive logic and dynamics and became “...predominantly instrumental and a means to an end - optimizing ...material self-interest”(Rifkin, 2011:268). As a consequence institutional settings or cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) serving as interpretative schemes of *signification* became shaped by institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. Also the *legitimation* of the Association’s activities had to consider potential sanctioning of norms and moral rules characteristic for its partners. The Neighbourhood Association, similar to other applicants, in case of non-compliance with financial tasks related indicators risked tough sanctions including suspension or cessation of financing and even obligation to pay penalties. The grant providers did not consider whether the norms and indicators they had established facilitated to solve genuine local problems.

The grant holders’ capacity of authorization and allocation served as source of *domination*. They perceived and exercised power as capacity to control and dominate the applicants’

activity by capitalizing on facilities similar to property and authority. I.e. the board of the Neighbourhood Association by focusing on fundraising and event management had to follow dominance-seeking patterns of structuration (Figure N 3).

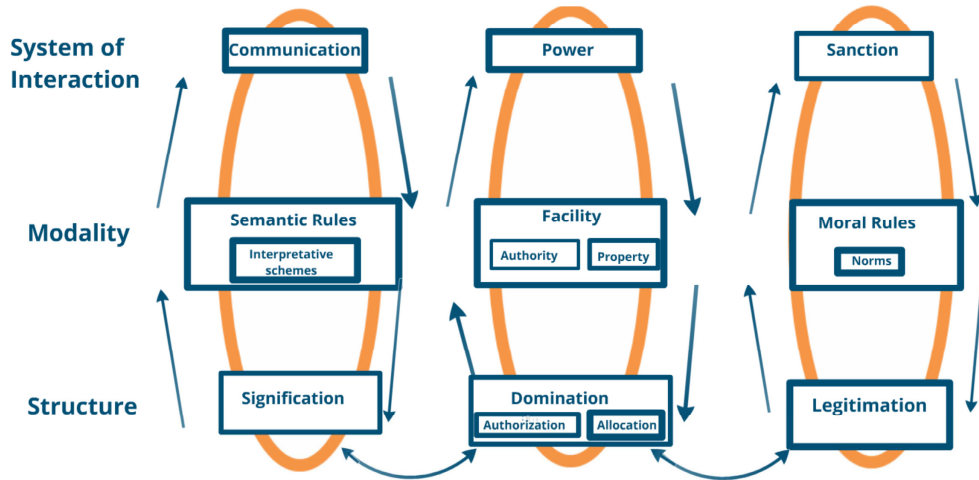


Figure 3: Dimensions of the Modalities of Structuration - Stillman (2006: 150) modified from Gregory (1986: 465)

The local civil society followed association-prone institutional tendencies, which proved to be strong enough to affect the Neighbourhood Association and ultimately (re-) transform it into genuine civil society entity. I.e. the local civil society also operated as organizational field generating unconventional, association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures. These effects launched and shaped changes in multiple dimensions that aggregated into profound shifts re-transforming the Association into civil society entity. The Association was fundamentally (re) transformed also a second time through broad changes connected again with strong, but atypical institutional isomorphic pressures.

These change processes were catalysed and affected by “concrete contingencies” (Tsoukas, 1989) like the (timing of the) emergence and volunteer activity of an initiative group of residents; the availability of state-of-the-art local information-communication networks providing high level connectivity; and also the timing of elections to the board of Association. These feed backing contingencies facilitated to enact strong association-prone institutional settings interplaying with the residents’ vivid self-communication (Castells, 2009). The “...mass self-communication... multiplies and diversifies the entry points in the

communication process. ...gives rise to unprecedented autonomy for communicative subjects to communicate at large...” - points out Castells (2009:135).

“Communication, as a general element of interaction, is a more inclusive concept than communicative intent (i.e. what an actor ‘means’ to say or do)³²⁰... The idea of ‘accountability’ in everyday English gives cogent expression to the intersection of interpretative schemes and norms. To be ‘accountable’ for one’s activities is both to explicate the reasons for them and to supply the normative grounding whereby they may be ‘justified’...” - points out Giddens (1984:29-30). I.e. the communication is a multidimensional interplay taking place among (i) intentions of communicating individuals; (ii) the meaning they communicate; (iii) interpretative schemes and norms; and (iv.) the “normative justification” of intentions and meaning which is based ultimately on moral rules. This interplay - or “duality” as Giddens (1984) coins it - plays a significant role in generating communication processes and their transformational capability.

The residents’ self-communication (Castells, 2009) created their enhanced autonomy and facilitated in multiple ways their (intensifying) communicative interactions (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995). Their interplay was simultaneously the outcome and important carrier and amplifier of an association-prone institutional constellation characterised by the primacy of non-zero-sum approach. This profound institutional shift overcoming the twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view was intertwined with (at least tacit) acceptance of interdependence. This institutional constellation was generative and also constitutive of atypical, association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures affecting and re-shaping the Neighbourhood Association. Consequently, the vivid self-communication capitalised on and amplified the emergence of association-prone institutional settings by catalysing their instantiation into - cooperative - actual relationships, i.e. by transforming them into social capital generating trust and extending its radius (Fukuyama, 1999).

³²⁰ “There are ...two forms of reductionism to be avoided here. Some philosophers have tried to derive overall theories of meaning or communication from communicative intent; others by contrast, have supposed that communicative intent is at best marginal to the constitution of the meaningful qualities of interaction, ‘meaning’ being governed by the structural ordering of sign systems. In the theory of structuration, however, these are regarded as of equivalent interest and importance, aspects of a duality rather than a mutually exclusive dualism...” – emphasizes Giddens (1984:29).

The presence of such powerful association-prone tendencies facilitated to elect as board members the participants of the self-organizing initiative group of residents. The board's personal re-composition strengthened feed backing and mutually catalytic qualitative changes and their aggregation. This interplay transformed subsequently the board, the Association, and ultimately also the - development model and trajectory of - the local civil society. The new board concentrated on professional enabling of the residents' volunteer cooperation aiming to co-create mutual advantage and the generation of new capacities through symbiotic efforts. The improved collective capabilities allowed enhancing the effectiveness of resourcing, moreover to expand the resource base - instead of engaging into fierce competition aiming to control and dominate resources seen as per definition scarce. I.e. the readiness to cooperate enabled to improve resourcing by co-creating mutual advantage for all participants and residents.

The board "prayed transparency" and systematically convinced all players to provide information about their activities. The abundant flow of information simultaneously generated new initiatives and increased contributions to known ones. The focus shift on locally available resources and the residents' growing activity contributed to significant broadening of the resource base. The increasing participation in voluntary efforts, the strengthening cooperative atmosphere, the improving resourcing, and the association-prone character of institutional dimension turned to be mutually catalytic and constitutive of an altered configuration of structuration (Figure N 4).

The association-prone institutional settings served as interpretative schemes of *signification* which took place through intertwined intra- and inter-personal dialogues carrying out sense and decision making (Stacey, 2000, 2010) and aggregating into vivid self-communication. Both the (enacted) institutional settings and the patterns of their enactment had association-prone character. This pattern catalysed the enacted institutional settings' instantiation into trustful cooperative relationships by turning them into social capital. I.e. the association-prone institutional settings simultaneously operated as social capital by generating mutual trust and expanding its radius (Fukuyama, 1999)³²¹. These institutional settings could serve also as soft, catalytic organizing platforms - as discussed below.

³²¹ This constellation allowed the radius of trust crossing even boundaries of the particular organizational entity.

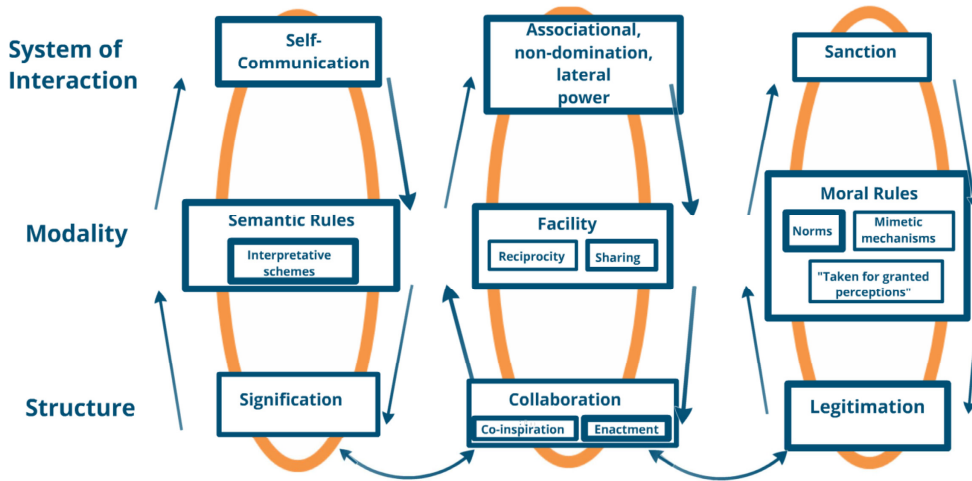


Figure 4: Modified dimensions of the Modalities of Structuration – based on Stillman (2006: 150) modified from Gregory (1986: 465)

In the Association the cognitive, third, institutional pillar had growing significance in comparison to regulative and normative pillars (Scott, 1995) since the association-prone institutional constellation interplayed with and shaped also moral rules carrying out *legitimation*. The Association operated - similarly to other communities - as “the people with the problem” (Stoecker 2005b:45-46) and their members aimed to co-create and implement solutions through increasingly communicative interactions (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995). The volunteer’s frequently provided unilateral contributions and their co-operation went beyond ‘mechanical’ compliance with norms (and regulations) under pressures of potential external sanctions.

The various cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) such as norms, taken for granted perceptions (Perez, 2002), and mimetic mechanisms or components of cognitive, third, institutional pillar (Scott, 1995)³²² through mutually catalytic interplay could amplify each other’s association-prone character. I.e. the legitimation could mobilize multiple types of moral rules other than norms, which could simultaneously legitimate and sanction association-prone dynamism. The deliberate, conscious un-learning (Scharmer, 2007) could accelerate association-prone changes in characteristic institutional settings by affecting also taken for granted perceptions driving recursive daily activities (Perez, 2002). The unlearning could capitalize on the

³²² They could capitalise on growing significance of mimetic mechanisms, i.e. the cognitive-cultural third institutional “pillar” gained increasing primacy compared to regulative and normative ones (Scott, 1995).

volunteers' self-communication creating their growing awareness of the (potential) mutual advantage that their cooperation offered compared to domination-seeking competition³²³.

The growingly association-prone characteristics of norms, taken for granted perceptions, and mimetic mechanisms played important role in driving and shaping recursive daily interactions (Perez, 2002), i.e. routines and praxis. The association-prone character of the moral rules' various carriers had eminent importance to legitimate, create "positive sanctions" for cooperative behaviour, because the broader environment was characterised by primacy of competition rather than cooperation. I.e. the association-prone approach could (re-)shape and amplify cooperative dynamics in local culture, to compensate and offset effects from the broader environment characterised by dominance-seeking competition. These institutional alterations created cooperative atmosphere in the district, it generated the residents' readiness and motivation to cooperate by promoting locally the primacy of collaboration despite the competition's dominance in their broader environment³²⁴.

The signification enacted association-prone institutional settings that operated as social capital by creating trust and extending its radius (Fukuyama, 1999). The mutual trust made redundant hierarchical distribution of obligations and access rights to resources. The association-prone character of signification enabled the volunteers' communicative interactions and unilateral contributions unfolding at mutually adaptive manner by following lateral or horizontal logic. I.e. the horizontal approach enabled to "organize without organization"(Shirky, 2008) through aggregation of the volunteers' parallel and distributed interactions - as the next part discusses.

In civil society organizations the relationships are seen as having self-value³²⁵, the participation is voluntary and it aims to socialise through joining to cooperative efforts. I.e. the volunteers' primary aim is to socialize, to "participate for the sake of participation". This justifies³²⁶ their readiness to participate in and contribute to collaborative efforts. Such approach is basically incompatible with "traditional" perception and exercising of power as

³²³ The cooperative efforts could simultaneously improve effectiveness of collective resourcing and life quality.

³²⁴ They facilitated to bring about cooperation into competitive environment (Benkler, 2011).

³²⁵ In market sector context the participation is justified by its contribution to profitable interactions. "Unlike the market, where relationships between people - in third sector, the relationships are an end in themselves, and are therefore imbued with intrinsic value rather than mere utility value"(Rifkin, 2011:268).

³²⁶ As Giddens (1984) points out the interactions are connected with particular patterns of accountability that allow simultaneously justify at normative manner a particular (in-)action.

domination and control³²⁷. Indeed, when the previous board started to transform the Association into bureaucratic hierarchy of domination and control, the members “voted with feet”. By contrast the new board gained quasi-meritocratic, informal and soft power as capacity to “influence in case of necessity” because the residents appreciated their systematic professional enabling efforts. I.e. they gained shared and sharing, integrative ‘power with’ (Kreisberg, 1992) possessing associational, horizontal, and non-domination character which was intertwined with *collaboration* and served to prevent attempts of domination.

Consequently, in the Neighbourhood Association the associational tendencies in institutional, relational, and power dimensions were intertwined with similar alterations in structuration processes. The structuration is “the theoretical elaboration of how power is used”(Stillman, 2006:150) and the use of power could be otherwise known as praxis (Giddens 1976:111). Consequently, a fundamental shift in patterns of perceiving and exercising power was (necessarily) intertwined with reconfiguration of structuration. Such association-prone reconfiguration took place through and as part of broad, feed backing changes simultaneously generating and constituting the Neighbourhood Association’s capacity of social agency. From “...an agency perspective, power enters into human interaction through providing organizational capabilities for humans to accomplish outcomes. Power is here understood as "transformative capacity," the power of human action to transform the social and material world (Roberts and Scapens 1985, p. 449)” - points out Orlikowski (1992:405).

Indeed in the Association the power altered - shared and sharing, lateral and associational - non-zero-sum character was intertwined with fundamental shift to primacy of collaboration replacing domination as “lead-structure”. An association-prone re-configuration of structuration took place where collaboration served as lead structure or rather attractor of structuration processes (Figure N 4 - above) generating broad association-prone dynamism. The collaboration unfolded through mutual co-inspiration and enactment - by replacing authorization and allocation of resources constitutive of domination. The altered, horizontal pattern of ‘power with’ (Kreisberg, 1992) emerged through reciprocity and sharing serving as facility of collaboration replacing domination. This new constellation replaced power as domination and control transmitted through authority and property. In the new, horizontal - replacing “traditional” vertical - configuration of structuration the primacy of collaboration as

³²⁷ Participation in particular activities similar to volunteer fire brigades could be connected with “traditional” perception and exercising of power as domination and control - at least in particular contexts.

‘lead structure’ was intertwined with the association-prone character of signification and legitimation.

The re-configuration of structuration simultaneously created and capitalized on association-prone (character of) dynamism in various dimensions including institutional, relational, and power. The aggregation of these multidimensional change processes was constitutive of and carried out altered organizational processes “...providing organizational capabilities for humans to accomplish outcomes”(Orlikowski, 1992:405). The volunteers’ collaboration carried out the aggregation of their interactions - often unilateral contributions - into continuous (self-) organizing of the emergence of their community - as next section discusses.

Communities as continuous self-organizing emergence

The community members’ feed backing intra- and inter-personal dialogues carrying out sense and decision making (Stacey, 2000, 2010) aggregate into *self-communication* (Castells, 2009)³²⁸. The dialogues and self-communication simultaneously enact and re-generate association-prone institutional settings which serve as “...informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals... [and is] instantiated in an actual human relationship”(Fukuyama, 1999)³²⁹. I.e. the volunteers’ self-communication enacts association-prone institutional settings by simultaneously transforming them into *social capital*. The social capital (re-)generates trust and sets its radius (Fukuyama, 1999) and also catalyses the volunteers’ motivation to participate in diverse cooperative pursuits.

The *trust* is imperative to (start to) communicate (Luhmann, 1995a), it calibrates the content (Stahle, 2009)³³⁰ and regulates the range of self-communication. The volunteers’ self-communication enacts association-prone institutional settings or cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) by operating as social capital that in turn (re-)generates mutual trust which is indispensable to the volunteers’ self-communication. I.e. the association-prone cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) in a sense catalyse and promote their own “self-reproduction” and serve as drivers of the communities’ emergence and their transformational dynamism.

³²⁸ These self-communication provides and amplifies their “unprecedented autonomy”(Castells, 2009:135).

³²⁹ They serve simultaneously as interpretative schemas of signification in frame of structuration.

³³⁰ “A person who shares a lot of trust also enhances his or her scope of action... Trust is not based on reported factual information, but information serves as an indicator of trust...” - points out Stahle (2009:17).

The association-prone character of the institutional settings simultaneously serves as an important catalyst of the volunteering community members' *motivation* to collaborate and socialize although it possesses 'multiparty' character and stems from various sources. I.e. multiple, often feed backing factors may (re-) generate and amplify the volunteers' motivation to participate in particular collaborative pursuits quasi-independently from their concrete field and output. I.e. the motivation to carry out voluntary activities does not necessarily depend on or correlate with the success or failure of concrete interactions either³³¹. The underlying aim or motivation is to socialize, to "participate for the sake of participation" despite that the volunteers' awareness of it may lack or remain tacit. The socializing enables to enjoy collaborative relational dynamism, to share team spirit and to belong, and to make a difference through participating in and contributing to cooperation. The communities provide casual environment without pressures to fulfil expectations and obligations to play various, often conflicting roles allowing their members enjoying being themselves. The commons are domains of passionate co-creation, altered non-wage work which feeds back with flow experience (Csikszentmihályi, 1990) or the "happiness of co-creation"³³². The volunteers may also experience enhanced self-esteem, self-activation and potentially even self-transcendence, i.e. the fulfilment of their various higher-level needs (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006) contributing to their self-empowerment (Page and Czuba, 1999) and individuation (Grenier, 2006)³³³. Additionally the perception of the cooperation as a value in itself may also serve as important motivator to participate and contribute.

The motivation that often interplays with the readiness to provide mutual trust serves as key *resource* of cooperation. It is the participants' capability to enact or "command" diverse phenomena what may turn them into resources, i.e. the resources possess strong relational character (Sewell, 1992; Stillman, 2006) as the structuration theory emphasizes³³⁴. Indeed the volunteers' interactions may co-create new capabilities that improve the effectiveness of their collective resourcing (Csányi, 1989) as the community clusters indicate. I.e. the cooperation

³³¹ Sometimes one's gaining awareness of the reasons of previous failure may generate more elevated interest to participate than successful interactions.

³³² Csikszentmihályi (1990) describes (individual and collective) flow as a mental state of operation characterized by full immersion, the feeling of energized focus, involvement, and interest in success of activity, i.e. as a source of elevated motivation. The interviewees used the metaphor of "flow" or a current carrying them along to explain their mental state during - co-creative - efforts.

³³³ "...you realize that it is your own development process in this life"(100-20-4-5:402) - points out a coordinator of the Silvia koti at the role of volunteering and non-wage work in one's individuation.

³³⁴ The agents' capability to command a phenomenon is more important for being (becoming) a resource than its materiality, specific form of organization, or any other aspect.

enables through symbiotic and synergistic aggregation combine individual capacities by co-creating new collective capabilities, which allow improving the effectiveness of collective resourcing. The volunteers' self-communication (Castells, 2009) may amplify their motivation to collaborate by generating their growing awareness of both (i) the enhanced effectiveness of resourcing and (ii) the life quality improvements it may bring about.

The community members growing awareness of the enhanced effectiveness of resourcing may serve as important selective mechanism and driver. It may catalyse (the re-emergence or repetition of) particular interactions which contribute to improved effectiveness of resourcing by simultaneously extending and upgrading also the collective resource base. The broadening and accelerating repetition of the interactions that facilitate to improve the effectiveness of the collective resourcing enables, is generative and constitutive of symbiotic co-creation of new capabilities³³⁵. I.e. the feedbacks between the improved effectiveness of resourcing and the growing awareness of their interplay with life quality improvements may catalyse the members' interactions and alter the patterns of their aggregation.

The *modularity of contributions* (Benkler, 2011) by reducing and limiting the tasks' resource intensity enables the volunteers to mobilize also due resources through their interactions as the Neighbourhood Association indicates. The community members during their interactions simultaneously may also enact - i.e. identify, access, mobilize, share and especially in case of soft ones also multiply - necessary resources by transforming various phenomena into "resources-in-practice" (Stillman, 2006)³³⁶. Consequently, the volunteers' communicative *interactions* (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995) carry out at the same time also *resourcing*.

The community members' parallel and distributed interactions simultaneously manage and share resources by following horizontal and decentralized patterns. It enables to enact distributed resources for example those which are dispersed in the inter-organizational space. This *horizontal, decentralized and sharing pattern* makes redundant also resource accumulation and redistribution through organizational hierarchies. Moreover, the resource sharing may make obsolete even to establish and maintain formal property of resources through multidimensional processes (Ostrom, 1990), which frequently rather resource

³³⁵ The capabilities are special types of resources which are able to improve the effectiveness of other resources - points out Makadok (2001). It is the bundling, the way of organizational embedding, and the configuration of resources that builds capabilities and makes difficult their transfer.

³³⁶ The "... 'commandeered' resources can be regarded as 'resources-in-practice', akin to Orlikowski's concept of 'technologies-in-practice' (see p.193)..." - as Stillman (2006:155) points out.

intensive. In a sense the members' communicative interactions and the - horizontal, decentralized, and sharing pattern of - simultaneous resourcing are intertwined and indivisible (quasi-identical) aspects of the communities' self-organizing carrying out the continuous emergence.

Due to the interplay of (i) the association-prone character of the institutional settings serving as soft organizing platforms and (ii) the modularity of contributions (Benkler, 2011) the volunteers' interactions may follow *mutually adaptive* patterns and smoothly aggregate into continuous emergence of their commons. The community members due to the institutional dimensions' association-prone and the relationships' trustful character accept differences in individual capabilities and responsibilities. They are ready to provide contributions to collective efforts also unilaterally by acting in various dimensions and contexts, without requesting direct and immediate 'compensation' or 'remuneration'. They prefer social values and instead of sticking to exchange of equal economic values through bilateral 'clearing' they provide contributions by sharing their (collective) outcomes³³⁷. Consequently, the community members' participation in and contributions to collective efforts aiming life quality improvements may follow asymmetric and asynchronous, 'open ended' and multi-party patterns of reciprocity.

This flexible and broad perception of mutuality allows asymmetry and asynchrony for both (i) the contributions, and (ii) the fulfilment of the volunteers' needs. Hence civil society organizations allow de-coupling or unbundling the voluntary contributions and the fulfilment of the contributors' needs. This unbundling is enabled by mutual acceptance of the primacy of social value interlinked with institutional twin-primacy of non-zero-sum approach and interdependence³³⁸. This constellation makes redundant and obsolete to 'equalize' and 'match' the economic value of various needs and contributions by (requesting) bringing them to a common, monetary denominator. Such 'demonetization' seems to be part of broader trends³³⁹

³³⁷ "I'm working very much there, and I'm not asking how much I get money, because I put a little bit more into the community all the time. And I have realized, and all of us have realized, that when you have that kind of attitude that you are not asking what do you get, but you ask, how can you help, where is your expertise needed and things like that. And when the whole community is successful, then you get that what you need. And that what I need is the, I have a need of spiritual care, not the need of money"(100-20-4-5:252-256) - explains the coordinator from Silvia koti.

³³⁸ The overcome of the direct linkage of needs and contributions in space-time may generate enhanced effectiveness in both contexts.

³³⁹ "...the trend is moving to digital exchange more than monetary exchange...without transaction and banks to share content and value added..."(100-20-5-5:714-716) - points out at the related broader tendencies the open innovation expert of a global company.

interplaying with a tendency to appreciation of social value and giving primacy to relationships perceived as having intrinsic value³⁴⁰. This constellation feeds back also with a networked model of value creation - as well as in resourcing and power relations - characterized by mutual advantage-seeking, acceptance of multiple wins among (increasing number of) participants³⁴¹.

Consequently, in communities the association-prone institutional settings which the volunteers enact through their self-communication operate simultaneously as social capital (Fukuyama, 1999) and as *institutional-type, "soft" organizing platforms*. These organizing platforms catalyse (i) the volunteers' motivation to participate in and contribute to cooperative efforts; (ii) their interactions which generate change processes simultaneously in multiple dimensions; and (iii) the aggregation of the multidimensional change processes into the communities' emergence unfolding as continuous self-organizing. The volunteers often intensify and extend the range of their collaborative interactions by utilizing various enabling technologies. Hence these enabling technologies may serve as auxiliary *hardware* which is complementary to the 'soft' institutional-type organizing platforms and extend their range to quasi-global reach³⁴².

The association-prone institutional settings that the self-communication enacts facilitate the volunteers' communicative interactions (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995) and their aggregation into their emerging communities in multiple ways. The 'soft', primarily institutional-type organizing platforms catalyse, shape, and 'pattern' the interactions, their aggregation into feed backing processes carrying out among others self-communication, resourcing, and motivation- and trust creation. I.e. these institutional-type, soft organizing platforms catalyse the interplay among multidimensional dynamics generative and constitutive of the communities' robust transformational dynamism (Figure 5).

³⁴⁰ "Unlike the market, where relationships between people are predominantly instrumental and a means to an end - optimizing each person's material self-interest - in third sector, the relationships are an end in themselves, and are therefore imbued with intrinsic value rather than mere utility value. ...And like the Internet, the core assumption in civil society is that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members"(Rifkin, 2011:268).

³⁴¹ The networked model has a "...core assumption...that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members...[similarly to] Internet"(Rifkin, 2011:268).

³⁴² This is particularly visible in context of 'soft' resources such as information and knowledge.

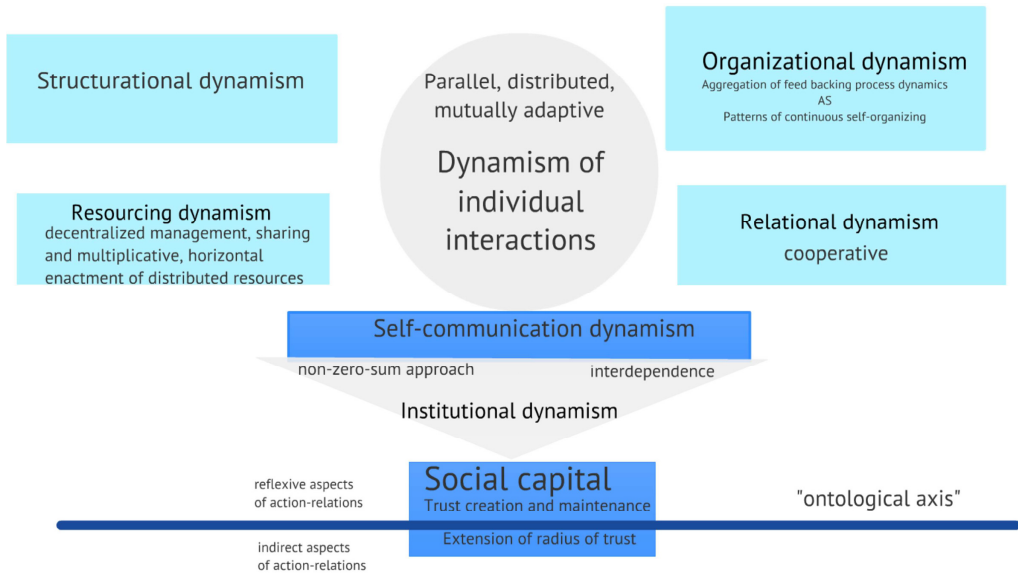


Figure 5: The communities as interplay among dynamics

Due to association-prone institutional-relational constellation the volunteers' parallel, distributed, and mutually adaptive interactions simultaneously aggregate into their community or commons by generating its continuous emergence without requesting dedicated management or planning unit(s). The cooperative enhancement of the volunteers' collective life quality provides shared mutual advantage and their self-communication creates their awareness of it this constellation. Such awareness may serve as a demonstrative effect regenerating their motivation to participate in and contribute to cooperative interactions aggregating into their emerging commons. I.e. the self-communication amplifies the volunteers' motivation to cooperate by creating awareness of the life quality improvements that the growing effectiveness of collective resourcing brings about. Such awareness operates as *selective mechanism* favouring interactions that by aggregating into new capabilities may improve the effectiveness of the collective resourcing.

This resource effectiveness driven mechanism 'selects' the voluntarily cooperating individuals' interactions that generate feed backing changes in various dimensions. These interplaying dynamic process constellations possess non-linear character and have a tendency to aggregate. Their aggregation - which is shaped by the same resource effectiveness driven selective mechanism - generates simultaneously the emerging community and the growing complexity of its functions more precisely functional processes. I.e. the communities are continuously emerging dynamic patterns aggregating multidimensional, feed backing process

dynamics instead of reified structures. Consequently, the voluntary interactions' aggregation into feed backing multidimensional processes carries out continuous self-organizing and generates the communities' increasing functional complexity³⁴³. Consequently, the volunteers' interactions through patterned interplay among self-enforcing or self-extinguishing feedback loops may aggregate into *continuous self-organizing* enabling to "organize without organization"(Shirky, 2008). The continuously unfolding self-organizing due to its non-linearity combines exploration and exploitation and has a tendency to unexpected ("organizational") behaviour or enhanced creativity³⁴⁴.

Self-organizing vs. self-organization

The Neighbourhood Association carried out multiple transformations in interplay with changes in (activities of) local civil society serving as broader context and catalyst of its transformational dynamism. The study assumes that the development trajectory of the Neighbourhood Association significantly differed from the change patterns that the previous research calls as self-organization (Prigogine and Stengers, 1984, 1997; Burgelman, 2009; Stahle, 1998, 2009; Hirvikoski, 2009; Plowman et al., 2007a,b). The thesis argues that the *self-organization* is a particular, *limited, and temporally* case of self-organizing, which is characteristic for the equilibrium-seeking organizations³⁴⁵ in market and public sectors - as section IV of Appendices explains. These equilibrium-seeking hierarchical bureaucracies aim to exclude 'uncontrolled' self-organizing. However, their functional imperfections may generate temporally emergence of feedbacks among bottom-up, association-prone reconfiguration of structuration and self-organizing processes. Nevertheless, due to the institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view the structuration (re-)creates equilibrium- and dominance-seeking hierarchies by simultaneously extinguishing and aiming to prevent the re-emergence of (even temporally and limited) self-organizing.

³⁴³ The communities' continuous self-organizing enables to "organize without organization"(Shirky, 2008). It allows generating growing functional complexity without linear increase in the organizational (or "structural") complexity. I.e. the communities confirm the indications (Burgelman, 2009) that relatively simple structures - rather structural processes - may exhibit increasingly complex behaviour and transformational capacity.

³⁴⁴ The description of the continuously emerging communities' dynamics probably may capitalize on circular cumulative causation discussed by Myrdal (1957) in "Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions" London: University Paperbacks, Methuen.

³⁴⁵ It carries out the switch between two equilibrium stages (punctuated equilibrium).

The analysis of the five case-community clusters confirms that their *transformational dynamism* is the dynamic resultant of the interplay between continuous self-organizing and an association-prone re-configuration of structuration - as Figure N 6 displays. I.e. the explored community clusters confirm in practice that the civil society entities or commons possess transformational dynamism which is simultaneously the driver and the outcome of their continuous self-organizing emergence. These multidimensional, mutually catalytic changes that feedback with improved effectiveness of resourcing may form self-enforcing feedback loops and by unleashing “cooperation trap” (Csányi, 1989) generating an upward spiral of collaboration. This constellation allows bringing and enhancing collaboration also in competitive environments (Benkler, 2011) and strengthens association-prone dynamics across fields by creating the capability and capacity of social agency.

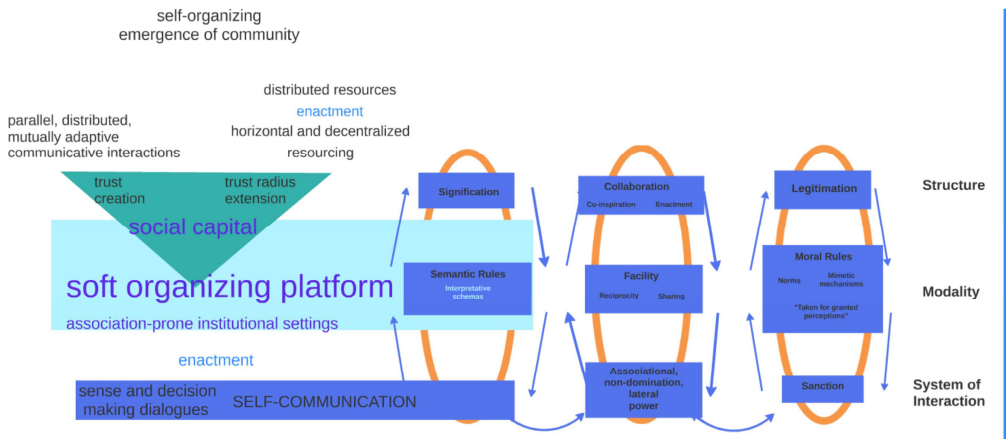


Figure 6: Feedbacks between self-organizing and structuration in civil society entities

The Neighbourhood Association’s transformation exemplifies that a local civil society may create ‘atypical’, association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures. It may operate as a dynamic quasi-field strong enough to catalyse (re-)switch the dynamics of structuration to association-prone pattern by simultaneously re-launching continuous self-organizing. These changes mutually presuppose and catalyse each other. They are indivisible and their interplay is generative and constitutive of both the communities’ self-organizing emergence and their robust transformational dynamism.

The Association by carrying out systematically professional enabling succeeded to catalyse mass self-organizing generating broad and deep transformations aggregating into a district-wide profound development model shift. These changes simultaneously catalysed and

capitalised on enhanced, networking collaboration among members of various communities. I.e. the alterations interplayed with the communities' networking self-upgrading bringing about also new dialectics of cooperation - which the subchapter N 3.4 discusses in details. Before elaborating on these topics, the next section offers an overview about feed backing constructs exhibiting the most salient aspects of sources and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism.

Propositions

The analysis of changes in structuration and continuous self-organizing as underlying dynamics unfolding in real domain (Tsoukas, 1984) enables to draw inferences about sources and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism. It facilitates to identify constructs, describe their feedbacks and multidimensional aggregation into processes whose interplay is constitutive of the communities' transformational dynamism. This section presents seven general propositions and develops them into a set of specific hypotheses.

Proposition 1: The stronger is the institutional dimension's association-prone character in communities the stronger may be the cooperative relational dynamism among their members

The communities' association-prone dynamism interplays with dual primacy of non-zero-sum approach and interdependence in institutional dimension. It feeds back with and shapes their members' self-communication (Castells, 2009) aggregating intertwined inter- and intra-personal dialogues of sense and decision making. These dialogues enact association-prone institutional settings, cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992), and taken for granted perceptions (Perez, 2002). Their robust association-prone character is connected to, capitalizes on, and in turn catalyses to overcome previous institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. It facilitates a cooperation-seeking attitude among community members aiming at mutual advantage. I.e. the institutional change brings about a shift to a cooperation-seeking attitude that creates and shapes the mutually adaptive character of the community members' parallel and distributed interactions. In other words, the overcoming of the resource scarcity view and zero-sum paradigm and their institutional dominance enables community members to focus on (seeking) mutual advantage. It enables to replace with cooperative and mutually adaptive approach a competitive and colliding relational dynamism characteristic for the wider environment. The community members carry out symbiotic efforts generating new capabilities which allow increasing the effectiveness of resource enactment

(Orlikowski, 1992, 2000) and improving life quality. This constellation facilitates to co-create associational - instead of competitive - advantage. The community members' obtain growing awareness through their self-communication about mutual advantages that their cooperation creates, which in turn enhances their motivation to collaborate. These tendencies are mutually catalytic and may create self-enforcing loop(s) by facilitating and amplifying cooperative relational dynamism among community members.

Hypothesis 1.1: The stronger is the self-communication the stronger may be the catalytic effect of the institutional-type organizing platforms

The more intense is the community members' dialogic sense- and decision making the stronger may be their self-communication. The stronger is the association-prone character of the institutional phenomena, which the volunteers' self-communication enacts, the stronger may be their catalytic effect on the community members' interactions, their mutually adaptive character, and aggregation into self-organizing. That is, the stronger may be their catalytic effect as organizing platforms. The more intense is the community members' self-communication the stronger may be the association-prone institutional settings that it enacts and the stronger disposition for voluntary cooperation the later may create. That is, the stronger may be their catalytic effects operating as organizing platforms. Consequently, the stronger is the community members' self-communication the 'larger and stronger' organizing platform it may generate.

Hypothesis 1.2: The stronger is the association-prone character of institutional dynamism the stronger and more abundant social capital it may generate

The community members during their self-communication enact various association-prone institutional settings and mimetic mechanisms, cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) and taken for granted perceptions (Perez, 2002). These institutional settings serve as organizing platforms that catalyse the members' mutually adaptive, parallel and distributed interactions and their aggregation into self-organizing cooperation. Consequently, these association-prone institutional settings may operate simultaneously as social capital, as "...an informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals...[which is]...instantiated in an actual human relationship"(Fukuyama, 1999). The stronger is the enacted institutional settings' association-prone character the more abundant social capital they may generate³⁴⁶.

³⁴⁶ The structure or quality of social capital could be as important as or even more decisive than its volume.

Hypothesis 1.3: *The stronger is the trust that community members mutually advance the stronger may be the empowering individuation or the members' self-transformation*

The stronger is the trust that the volunteer co-operators advance to each other the more vivid their self-communication may be and the more association-prone institutional settings it may enact. That is, the more abundant and stronger social capital it may (re-)generate. The stronger and the more abundant is the social capital the stronger trust it generates and the longer may be its radius. I.e. the 'bigger is its stock' and the more intense is the social capital the stronger and more 'long distance' trust it may generate. The stronger is the trust the more intensive may be the community members' collaboration and their self-communication. The more vivid is the self-communication the stronger may be the community members' experience and awareness of flow (Csikszentmihályi, 1990), belonging, and the capability to make a difference. These experiences and growing awareness of them may catalyse the fulfilment of their higher-level needs (Maslow, 1943, Koltko-Rivera, 2006) constitutive of the emergence of their autonomous self and holistic personality. That is, the stronger is this constellation the more generative it may be in context of the community members' mutually empowering individuation. Consequently, the more trustful are the relationships the stronger may be the empowering individuation or the members' personal self-activation and 'self-transcendence' (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006).

Hypothesis 1.4: *The stronger is the institutional acceptance of non-zero sum approach the more probable may be the harmonization of collective and personal interests*

The association-prone character of the communities' institutional dynamism capitalizes on overcoming the twin-primacy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. The growing institutional primacy of non-zero sum approach amplifies cooperative efforts bringing about increased effectiveness of resource enactment and positive changes in both personal and collective life quality; it facilitates to co-create associational - instead of competitive - advantage. The community members' self-communication creates simultaneously growing awareness of positive changes in life quality that their cooperation generates. This awareness enhances their readiness and motivation to collaborate. The association-prone institutional and cooperative relational dynamism may mutually strengthen each other. The stronger is the collaboration the stronger life quality improvements and mutual advantage it may generate either; i.e. the stronger may be the demonstrative effect and its catalytic impact on motivation to collaborate. Since these tendencies are mutually catalytic they may form self-enforcing feedback loops and facilitate the simultaneous fulfilment of personal needs and the co-

creation of associational advantage at collective level. So, the stronger is the association-prone constellation the more probable and effective may be the harmonisation of the community members' personal and collective interests.

Hypothesis 1.5: The stronger is the association-prone character of institutional dynamism the more inclusive and less fragmented may be the cooperation

The more successfully overcome the community members the institutional twin-dominance of the zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view the more association-prone character the institutional dimension may have. In other words, the stronger may be the catalytic capability of the institutional settings that the self-communication enacts and the stronger organizing platform they may exhibit. Consequently, the stronger is the association-prone character of institutional settings that the self-communication enacts the stronger and more abundant social capital it may generate and the longer may be the radius of trust it creates. The longer is the radius of trust the higher may be the probability that the community members' cooperation may overcome the boundaries of particular entities: I.e. the less intense may be the limiting effect of group solidarity - rather loyalty - shortening the radius of trust and keeping cooperation 'inside the boundaries' of particular communities. Consequently, the stronger is the association-prone character of institutional dynamism the more inclusive and less fragmented collaboration it may generate.

Hypothesis 1.6: The stronger is the community members' awareness of interdependence the stronger, more inclusive, and less fragmented may be their cooperation

Their vivid self-communication facilitates simultaneously the community members' interactions' reflectivity, reflexivity, and knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984). In other words, it generates, shapes, and strengthens their self- and social consciousness. It also creates - at least tacitly - a growing awareness of their belonging to the extended global human family and of mutual dependence in broad sense. This setup facilitates to accept interdependence and creates a growing awareness of the asymmetry of capabilities and responsibilities that it creates. This constellation enables to generate social capital with 'positive externalities' by extending the radius of trust beyond boundaries of a particular community. In other words, it strengthens the inclusive and non-fragmented character of collaboration. Consequently the stronger is the awareness of interdependence the stronger and more abundant the social capital the community members' self-communication may generate. The stronger is the social capital

the stronger trust it may generate and the longer may be its radius; i.e. the stronger, more inclusive and less-fragmented cooperative relational dynamism this setup may create.

Propositions 2: The stronger is the primacy of locally available resources the bigger may be the probability of an extension of the collective resource base

The community members during their parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive interactions simultaneously enact and share locally available resources. The more vivid their interactions are the more resources they may simultaneously identify, access, enact, multiply and share by carrying out - decentralized, sharing and multiplicative patterns of - horizontal enactment of distributed resources. This horizontal approach makes unnecessary to accumulate and redistribute resources or to establish their ownership. This setup enables to mobilize resources dispersed in the inter-organizational space, as well as soft resources similar to knowledge, information, and creative energies, which - due to their non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28) character - are self-multiplying and also multipliable. These tendencies broaden the range of the resources' accessibility, improve the effectiveness of their enactment, and increase their overall volume; i.e. they expand and upgrade the resource base that cooperating community members may access and enact.

Hypothesis 2.1: The higher is the ratio of soft resources the bigger may be the capability of extending and upgrading the resource base

The community members rely on and prefer locally available, especially soft resources similar to knowledge, creativity, cognitive, relational, emotional, and psychological energies. Since these 'soft' resources possess non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28) character their enactment facilitates to enhance their quality and quantity instead of decreasing and outwearing them. The larger is the ratio of soft resources in a local 'resource mix' that community members enact and share the higher may be the probability of their multiplication. In other words, an increased ratio of soft resources may facilitate to increase - extend and upgrade - simultaneously the collective resource base.

Hypothesis 2.2: The stronger is the modularity of contributions the stronger may be (the dynamism of) self-organizing

The limitation of the size and resource-intensity of the individual tasks, i.e. the modularity of contributions (Benkler, 2011), makes easier to fulfil them. It may broaden the range of

persons who are ready to volunteer, engage themselves, and undertake tasks. The participation in completion of tasks may generate the energizing experience of flow (Csikszentmihályi, 1990) and may create a perception of being capable making a difference and belonging. These feed back tendencies enable to fulfil simultaneously the contributors' higher level needs constitutive of their individuation by generating enhanced motivation to collaborate. I.e. the limitation of size and complexity of individual contributions may increase in various ways the motivation to volunteer of a broader range of participants. The enhanced motivation may strengthen their readiness to contribute even unilaterally. The stronger is the motivation to participate the more vivid may be the community members' parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive interactions. The more intense their interactions are the stronger may be their aggregation and the more dynamic is the self-organizing which they may generate. In other words, the stronger is the modularity of contributions the more people may volunteer to cooperate and the more intense may be their interactions' aggregation into self-organizing collaboration.

Hypothesis 2.3: The stronger is the modularity of contributions the stronger may be its catalytic effect on extension of the collective resource base

The community members' passionate and sharing co-creation or non-wage work allows simultaneously linking and optimising individual contributions to enhanced social value creation. The interactions follow a networked pattern of social - instead of economic - value creation. Its "...core assumption...is that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members...[similarly to]...the Internet"(Rifkin, 2011:268). In other words, the networked value creation does not require maximising individual contributions in order to optimize economic value generation as in case of wage work. The networked setup allows limiting the size and resource-intensity of individual contributions by simultaneously broadening participation. The wider participation feeds back with a growing number of interactions simultaneously enacting necessary resources what allows increasing the overall volume of enacted resources. Consequently, the modularity by limiting their size of contributions may increase the number of contributors and simultaneously extend the collective resource base.

Proposition 3: The stronger is the capability co-creation the stronger may be the associational advantage

Collaboration enables its participants to (re-)combine their capacities and capabilities. The symbiotic - and often synergetic - (re-)combination of capabilities may increase the effectiveness of cooperative resource enactment. The stronger is the capability co-creation the more effective may be the cooperative resource enactment and the stronger may be the ability to generate improvements in collective life quality - to co-create associational advantage.

Hypothesis 3.1: The stronger is the associational advantage the stronger may be the motivation to collaborate

Enhanced collective capabilities may help to increase the effectiveness of cooperative resource enactment and to improve collective life quality, i.e. to generate associational advantage. The community members' self-communication generates their awareness of associational advantage, i.e. it creates demonstrative effect that strengthens their motivation to collaborate. The stronger is the perceived associational advantage or demonstrative effect the stronger may be the volunteers' motivation to participate in and contribute to collaboration.

Proposition 4: The stronger is the community members' capability to affect structures and structuration the stronger may be their (ability of) empowering social agency

The community members systematically enact association-prone institutional settings generating cooperative relational dynamism: facilitate to replace domination with collaboration, bring about association-prone tendencies to signification and legitimation - i.e. catalyse the re-configuration of structuration processes. The community members during their recurrent daily interactions simultaneously enact, reproduce, and modify structures that create their capability for agency (Sewell, 1992). Consequently, their ability to affect and (re-)shape the character and dynamism of structuration empowers community members to catalyse social change and carry out social agency.

Hypothesis 4.1: The stronger is the community members' knowledgeable the more effective may be their social agency

The community members' passionate co-creative efforts achieve concrete outputs intentionally in field(s) of their common interest. They may simultaneously generate in multiple ways changes of which they remain partly or fully unaware; they co-create also unintentional outcomes which may aggregate into transformations affecting, changing social processes. I.e. the volunteers carry out social agency also partly or fully unintentionally. The

community members' self-communication may bring about increasing reflectivity, reflexivity, and knowledgeableability (Castells, 1984) of their interactions, i.e. by facilitating to gain awareness about changes which they unintentionally generate it may increase the conscious character and effectiveness of their social agency.

Proposition 5: The stronger is the institutional settings' association-prone character the higher is the probability of stronger association-prone re-configuration of structuration

In communities, the primacy of association-prone institutional settings interplays with the members' readiness to mutually advance trust and carry out contributions unilaterally. This constellation facilitates the aggregation of the members' unilateral contributions into cooperative efforts unfolding as parallel, distributed, and mutually adaptive interactions that aggregate into and carry out continuous self-organizing. This constellation enables to "organize without organization" (Shirky, 2008) by rendering as unnecessary generating and maintaining organizational structures. The volunteer participation in cooperative efforts brings about empowerment in multiple ways by enabling to become genuine power-holders instead of being passive subjects of power. The stronger is the association-prone character of the institutional settings that the volunteer co-operators enact the higher is the probability that by bringing about simultaneous association-prone alterations in signification and legitimation the collaboration replaces domination as "lead structure". In other words, the stronger is the association-prone character of institutional settings the higher is the probability that they aggregate into feed backing changes bringing about association-prone re-configuration of (the dynamics of) structuration.

Hypothesis 5.1: The more association-prone is the community dynamism the stronger may be the association-prone reconfiguration of structuration processes

The stronger are the cooperative alterations in institutional, relational, resourcing and power dimensions the stronger may become the association-prone dynamism of a community. When the community members' vivid self-communication enacts growingly association-prone institutional settings serving also as interpretative schemes it generates simultaneous changes in signification. The association-prone relational dynamism in the communities may feedback with association-prone alterations in legitimation catalysing the transformation of cooperation into a key value since the volunteers capitalise increasingly on the cognitive third institutional pillar besides - and partly beyond - regulative and normative pillars (Scott, 1995). These

tendencies may interplay with simultaneous increase of the association-prone character of “taken for granted perceptions” driving recursive everyday activities (Perez, 2002). These association-prone changes affecting simultaneously the interpretative schemas of semantic rules and the constituents of moral rules simultaneously may transform processes and the configuration of structuration. Additionally, the strengthening collaboration may feedback with increasingly associational character of power by transforming it into integrative, non-zero-sum, shared and horizontal ‘power with’ (Kreisberg, 1992). The stronger is the associational character of power the stronger the probability that collaboration may replace domination as ‘primary structure’. I.e. the stronger are the simultaneous transformations in signification and legitimation the more firmly the collaboration may become the ‘dominant structure’. Consequently, the stronger is the association-prone dynamism of a community the stronger may be the ‘structural primacy’ of collaboration, and the stronger may become the association-prone reconfiguration of structuration (processes).

Hypothesis 5.2: The stronger is the ‘structural primacy’ of collaboration the stronger is the associational, lateral, and non-zero sum character of power

The community members’ volunteer cooperation facilitates their mutual (self-) empowerment “...[unfolding as] multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important...”(Page and Czuba, 1999). The more firmly cooperation-seeking attitude may replace domination-seeking the stronger may be the overcoming of the previous perception and exercising of power as hierarchical control and domination over others; i.e. the stronger may be the transformation of power into horizontal, shared and non-zero-sum, integrative “power with” (Kreisberg, 1992). The growingly integrative character of power enables that “...gaining power actually strengthens the power of others rather than diminishing it such as occurs with domination/power”(Page and Czuba, 1999). Consequently, the stronger is the structural primacy of collaboration - compared to domination - the stronger may be the associational, lateral, shared and sharing, non-zero sum and non-domination pattern of the transformation of power.

Hypothesis 5.3: The stronger is the collaboration (its primacy over domination) the more probable may be the extension and upgrading of the collective resource base

The stronger is the volunteer co-operators' co-inspiration and (collective) resource enactment the stronger may be their collaboration and the more firmly it may replace domination as 'primary structure'. The stronger is the collaboration the stronger are the reciprocity and sharing in resourcing; i.e. the more strongly they replace authority and property related resource management. Since volunteer co-operators through their interactions simultaneously enact also resources, the more vivid is their collaboration the more resources they mobilize, i.e. the larger is the overall volume of resources that through their interactions they may enact, multiply, and share. The more people volunteer, the stronger is their cooperation the larger volume and the more diverse resources they may mobilize simultaneously, i.e. the more extended and upgraded may be the collective resource base which they may mobilize.

Proposition 6: The volunteers' parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive interactions aggregate into (continuous) self-organizing, i.e. permanent emergence of their communities

The communities offer altered context for their members' favoured activity, which is characterised by enhanced freedom allowing focusing on quality and self-expression; i.e. the communities enable to carry out activities as non-wage work. Although such non-wage work may require significant and sophisticated efforts it catalyses the volunteers empowering individuation and facilitates their liberation from estrangement pressures. These tendencies interplay with the fulfilment of the co-operators' higher level needs and may generate flow experience and re-generate the volunteers' motivation to cooperate. Since the community members' primary aim is to socialize, to "participate for the sake of participation" they participate in and contribute to common efforts without requesting direct or immediate mutuality from others. I.e. they follow open ended, multiparty, asynchronous and asymmetric pattern of reciprocity and are ready to provide even unilateral contributions. Although the community members mutually adapt to each other their contributions and interactions unfold at parallel and distributed manner, without planning or management through dedicated central unit(s). These interactions carry out change processes simultaneously in multiple dimensions that aggregate into continuous self-organizing carrying out - aggregating into - the permanent emergence of their communities. Consequently, the community members' voluntary participation in and contributions to cooperative efforts unfolds through parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive interactions, which aggregate into continuously unfolding self-organizing enabling "organizing without organization" (Shirky, 2008).

Hypothesis 6.1: *The stronger is association-prone character of self-communication the stronger may be the self-organizing*

The stronger is the association-prone character of the institutional settings which the volunteers enact during their self-communication the stronger social capital and the longer radius of trust they may generate. In other words, the stronger is the association-prone character of the institutional settings that the volunteers enact through their self-communication the stronger catalytic effect they may provide as ‘soft’ organizing platform. I.e. the more effectively they may facilitate both the volunteers’ cooperative interactions and their aggregation into continuous self-organizing. The stronger and more effective are these ‘soft’, institutional-type organizing platforms the more lively may unfold the community members’ mutually adaptive, parallel and distributed interactions and more smooth may be their aggregation into permanent emergence of their community unfolding as continuous self-organizing.

Proposition 7: The communities’ permanent emergence unfolds through the interplay of (association-prone re-configuration of) structuration and continuous self-organizing

The community members parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive interactions that carry out their voluntary cooperation simultaneously aggregate into continuous self-organizing enabling to “organize without organization”(Shirky, 2008). Their disposition to collaborate in order to socialise feeds back with the association-prone character of the institutional settings which they enact during their self-communication. These association-prone institutional settings serve simultaneously as (i) ‘soft’ catalytic organizing platforms, (ii) social capital creating trust and extending its radius, as well as (iii) interpretative schemas of signification. The association-prone dynamism of signification feeds back with similar character of norms, mimetic mechanisms and taken for granted perceptions of legitimation. The association-prone interplay of signification and legitimation catalyse the ‘structural primacy’ of collaboration, which may even replace domination as ‘primary structure’. I.e. the volunteer co-operators’ interactions aggregate simultaneously into continuously unfolding self-organizing and - following altered, association-prone patterns - structuration processes. The communities’ permanent emergence unfolds through the interplay between continuous self-organizing and - an association-prone (re-)configuration of - structuration. In other words, the volunteer co-operators’ interactions simultaneously carry out, aggregate into self-organizing and structuration processes - both possessing growingly association-prone character.

Consequently, the communities' permanent emergence unfolds through the interplay of continuous self-organizing and (the association-prone reconfiguration of) structuration. This interplay creates simultaneously the communities' broader transformational potential - discussed in details in the following subchapter.

3.4 The civil society organizations transformational outcomes

The thesis argues that the communities exemplify a broad array of civil society organizations. The communities and their transformational dynamism is the outcome of the aggregation of the members' cooperative interactions generating interplay between continuous self-organizing and the (association-prone reconfiguration of) structuration. The volunteers engage into cooperative efforts that allow socializing, facilitate their empowering individuation and generate life quality improvements by (re-)creating their enhanced motivation. The study assumes that these tendencies are present and effective in the civil society organizations' broad array by creating multidimensional transformational outcomes - as the following sections discuss in details.

Empowerment by "going after the small picture"

The civil society organizations have a tendency to networking self-upgrading by simultaneously facilitating their members' empowering individuation and their cooperative relationships' elevation on qualitatively higher level. This interplay may contribute also to self-empowerment of the entire civil society which is interconnected with broader societal changes. I.e. the civil society organizations exhibit multidimensional transformational outcomes affecting simultaneously personal, relational, organizational, field, and also societal levels. The civil society organizations enable multidimensional, feed backing changes facilitating empowerment by "going after the small picture" - as Giddens (1990) indicates

The volunteers tend to recursively enact during their cooperative interactions process patterns that may facilitate - the appearance and sustainability of - higher effectiveness of collective resourcing. These patterns may 'gain permanency' and become sustainable process components of self-organizing emergence and operation of various civil society entities. I.e. the multidimensional, feed backing change-processes that the volunteers' interactions catalyse and carry out frequently may interplay with enhanced effectiveness of resourcing similarly to communities. To put it another way, the civil society entities may on multiple manner capitalize on and also catalyse enhanced effectiveness of collective resourcing. Moreover, the

particular changes' probability and sustainability may feedback with their capacity to improve resourcing, i.e. it may operate as 'selective mechanism' of changes.

The resourcing aspect may interplay with the communities' tendency to networking self-upgrading to project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities intertwined with altered, new dialectics of cooperation and competition. This interplay is connected with and constitutes the emergence of various large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011) capable to aggregate into quasi-fields possessing association-prone dynamics. Such networking emergence of these association-prone tendencies may feedback with and may carry out their fractal like, scale-free transposition. This constellation creates also the capability of bottom-up empowerment, i.e. enables empowering changes unfolding at local level to shape broader alterations and affecting surrounding fields. These alterations may interplay with association-prone re-configuration of structuration carrying out ultimately the constitution of society (Giddens, 1984).

The current subchapter elaborates on transformational outcomes of civil society organizations unfolding in a fourth, 'future quasi-domain' mostly as potential developments. These may - or may not - become more explicit, and currently they are in early, nascent phase, and frequently only start to emerge. Their development may become constitutive of multiple broader and longer term transformations - including a new societal kinetics having associational character. Since ultimately only the individuals act (Demeulenaere, 2009) all feed backing trends and dynamics appear through and unfold as continuous interplay among countless relational dyads. A major challenge and paradox of mass societies of the current, industrial information era is that they generate the empowering and disempowering tendencies' robust duality, simultaneous presence and feedbacks. I.e. the individuals and their various groups are at the same time subjects and objects of local-global dynamics aggregating into powerful transformational tendencies ultimately constituting - pressures and chances of - globalization.

The current subchapter aims to explore whether and how voluntarily collaborating members of civil society organizations through their recurrent everyday activities at their home, workplace or local community may create simultaneously significant transformational outcomes. I.e. it examines whether it is possible by "going after the small picture" (Giddens, 1984, 1990) generate broader transformational tendencies having association-prone character. The thesis assumes that the Neighbourhood Association, which carried out multiple, robust

transformations, from time to time following diametrically opposing directions, may provide some useful indications facilitating to explore also such wider, multidimensional agency.

Neighbourhood Association - social agency

The Neighbourhood Association through interplaying changes reshaped subsequently itself, its members and their relationships, the dynamics of the local civil society, and the development trajectory of the entire district. The Association successfully (re-)transformed itself into umbrella organization of local civil society by overcoming deformations that previously turned it into bureaucratic, equilibrium-seeking hierarchy. These feed backing shifts affected simultaneously multiple dimensions including resourcing, work, value creation and power relations. The rapid emergence of these alterations was at significant degree the outcome of the activities of the Neighbourhood Association, which took over and carried out systematically professional enabling catalysing the residents' mass self-organizing.

The Association facilitated the residents' passionate and sharing co-creation, liberated and liberating non-wage work contributing to broader emancipating, un-alienating tendencies following social capital accumulation logic. The board capitalized on the presence and orchestrated the amplification of cooperative atmosphere in the district. It catalysed the individuals' and teams' better and more effective contributions to self-upgrading cooperative efforts improving life quality and frequently taking place through altered, participative patterns of competition. This constellation interplayed with the volunteers' readiness to provide also unilateral contributions following open-ended, multiparty, asynchronous, and asymmetric patterns of comparison and exchange and facilitating to extend and upgrade the collective resource base. The volunteers' systematic efforts co-creating and sharing associational advantage enhanced also the effectiveness of resourcing what turned to be rewarding also in economic term. The residents' cooperation unfolded as non-wage work, i.e. voluntary, passionate and sharing co-creation, that contributed to creation of economic value as unintentional side effect. I.e. it operated similarly to the quality focused work in knowledge firms, which could be rewarding also in profit context (Nonaka et al., 2008)³⁴⁷.

³⁴⁷ The "...firms cannot exist without profit – but some firms emphasize: "profit is a result of the firm's pursuit of excellence and ideals not a *purpose*. What these firms pursue ultimately is the happiness of the community and themselves. This causes them to continuously question their *raison d'être* and seek their own absolute value in the context of their relationships in the community and society. They have built unique communities of individuals driven by their own beliefs, shared dreams, and a vision relentlessly pursued to create unique value leading to happiness in the community and then profit"(Nonaka et al., 2008:243).

The Association's renewed board acted as change maker in various, practically in all, dimensions by catalysing "continuous radical change" (Plowman et al., 2007). The board by carrying out professional enabling fostered on multiple ways the co-creation of the local civil society's capability to create and carry out their self-empowerment by facilitating simultaneously broader associational dynamics. The local civil society's self-empowerment enabled its growing emancipation³⁴⁸ in comparison to market and public sector players, i.e. it contributed to and catalysed association-prone patterns of convergence³⁴⁹ among the three social sectors. The conscious facilitation of self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006) could 'draw up' also new pattern of (local) division of labour. It catalysed the emergence of an associational societal kinetics having *additive* character by overcoming the exclusivity of dominance seeking competition frequently diminishing collective resource base. The Association exemplified the civil society organizations' capability and capacity to break path dependence and elevate the trajectory of development to qualitatively higher level.

The board facilitated multidimensional association-prone changes simultaneously affecting and shifting patterns of signification and legitimation by enabling the collaboration to replace domination, i.e. by re-configuring structuration. The various, feed backing changes catalysed emancipating tendencies and more association prone dynamics by bringing about a new, elevated development trajectory of the district. I.e. the board and the Association carried out and also catalysed powerful social agency. The voluntarily collaborating members of Neighbourhood Association and numerous civil society organizations could affect through their recurrent everyday activities at their local community also broader transformational tendencies - as Giddens (1984, 1998) points out. I.e. by going after the "small picture" they carried out social agency³⁵⁰.

The board systematically catalysed cooperation with the two neighbouring districts and facilitated to establish and broaden contacts among local civil society players and diverse external partners. This collaborative constellation interplayed with growingly association-

³⁴⁸ The feed backing changes catalysed and were constitutive of an overarching shift in the development model of the district by smoothly replacing with primacy of the self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006) the previous dominance of the structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006).

³⁴⁹ Its empowerment 'repositioned' the local civil society also in comparison to the market and public sectors.

³⁵⁰ By capitalizing on self-communication (Castells, 2009) the volunteers could exercise Habermasian "dialogic democracy", where differences are settled, and practices ordered through discourse rather than violence or commands of authority - as Giddens (1984) indicates. These tendencies were also constitutive of "democratisation of democracy" (Giddens, 1998) and they catalysed the enhancement of participative democracy.

prone character of institutional dimension generating abundant social capital and extending the radius of trust (well) beyond the boundaries of particular organizations³⁵¹.

These tendencies enhanced cooperation among members of diverse communities, entities and groups. They brought about collaboration going beyond boundaries of particular entities, having inclusive and non-fragmented character and following more association-prone dialectics. The intense collaboration among volunteers who ‘belonged to different entities’ raised cooperation on a qualitatively new level by carrying out simultaneously their communities’ networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third degree (Vitányi, 2007) social entities. The feed backing external and internal developments mutually catalysed each other by simultaneously increasing and upgrading networking cooperation. The enhanced networking among growing number of participants generated mutual associational advantage what in turn strengthened their readiness to collaborate. Such “engagement into non-linear relationships” (Plowman et al, 2007) enabled to capitalize also on positive effects of networking model of resourcing³⁵² by enhancing its effectiveness and facilitating to extend and upgrade the collective resource base.

Consequently, the Neighbourhood Association facilitated to elevate cooperation on qualitatively new, higher level through networking self-upgrading of various civil society entities. It catalysed the self-empowerment of the local civil society taking place through mutual approximation with market and public sector (players); it also generated emancipating, associational societal kinetics enabling to overcome and prevent mass-alienation. These large-scale alterations interplayed with each other and were intertwined with simultaneous, significant changes in resourcing enabling its additive character and increased effectiveness - as the next section discusses in details.

Enhanced effectiveness of resourcing as selective factor of changes

The Neighbourhood Association’s new board decided to focus on locally available resources what interplayed with broader horizontalization tendencies allowing mobilizing and sharing

³⁵¹ “Q: So you hope to involve new players from Arabianranta and from outside.

A: And also from...Toukola and Vanhakaupunki. It’s very important [the cooperation among the] three areas...

Q: ...now you are thinking all the time in three areas not only in Arabianranta? ...You have opened up very consciously...

A: Yes! Very consciously!

Q: ...resources will be better used if you are joining your efforts”(100-20-29-5:641-656) - describes their deliberate cooperative efforts the coordinator of the Neighbourhood Association.

³⁵² The value creation and the power relations also may capitalise on the networking model.

distributed resources through decentralized and non-hierarchical enactment³⁵³. The volunteers' various cooperative pursuits interplayed with symbiotic and synergistic co-creation of new capabilities emerging as specific configurations of resource patterns³⁵⁴. The co-creation of new capabilities could facilitate to improve the effectiveness of collective resourcing³⁵⁵ and enhance life quality, i.e. to generate mutual, shared associational advantage.

The volunteers' vivid self-communication could generate also their awareness of benefits that horizontal and decentralized patterns of resourcing generate by allowing co-create growing associational advantage. This awareness of mutual advantage could operate as demonstrative effect amplifying the volunteers' motivation to cooperate and to provide even unilateral contributions. This motivating interplay could turn into self-enforcing feedback loop catalysing to upgrade collaboration to new qualitative level³⁵⁶. I.e. the interplay between self-communication, motivated cooperation carrying out - horizontal, decentralized and networking patterns of - resource enactment, improved the effectiveness of collective resourcing, and the association-prone tendencies got self-amplifying character.

Such feed backing changes enabling to improve the effectiveness of resourcing in civil society entities facilitated to elevate collaboration into higher, qualitatively new dimension through networking self-upgrading. Consequently, the enhanced effectiveness of resourcing could operate as catalyst generating the self-amplifying character of broad association-prone trends - which in turn facilitated to improve resourcing by increasing its efficiency. I.e. cooperative efforts and improving resourcing proved to be mutually catalytic tendencies and the feedbacks among multiple self-enforcing feedback loops could enact "cooperation trap" (Csányi, 1989) interplaying with strengthening of mutual aid (Kropotkin, 1902, 1972) and natural cooperation (Nowak, 2006) tendencies.

³⁵³ In civil society organizations this new constellation could replace resourcing patterns that combine ownership, accumulation and redistribution often unfolding through hierarchies.

³⁵⁴ The specific configurations of resources may catalyse improved effectiveness of resourcing. The notion of "resources" in resource based view combines "resources" and "capabilities" (Amit and Schoemaker, 1993) by emphasizing their distinction and interplay (Makadok, 2001). Upon resource based view, resources are factors that a firm can mobilize to achieve and maintain competitive advantage, while capabilities indicate the capacity to deploy these factors as resources (Amit and Schoemaker, 1993). As described by Makadok (2001) capabilities exhibit special type of resources, (i) whose purpose is to improve the effectiveness of other resources, and (ii) that are organizationally embedded by making difficult their transfer; i.e. it is the bundling, the way of embedding, and the configuration of resources that builds capabilities.

³⁵⁵ The parallel, distributed, and mutually adaptive interactions simultaneously could enact also highly distributed resources dispersed in the inter-organizational space.

³⁵⁶ The awareness facilitated the emergence of collaborative constellations operating as self-enforcing or self-amplifying feedback loops.

The improved effectiveness and additive character of collective resourcing capitalized on its networking pattern³⁵⁷ following the logic of social-capital accumulation simultaneously promoting the association-prone dynamics of organizational and social fields. The intensity of resourcing - the effectiveness of resource enactment and the volume of collective resource base - interplayed with and was constitutive of the communities networking self-upgrading into third level social entities (Vitányi, 2007)³⁵⁸.

The volunteers' self-communication could bring about awareness of the mutual advantage that successful cooperation created. I.e. the improved effectiveness of resourcing, its demonstrative effect or the participants' awareness of mutual advantage could be connected through self-communication by mutually catalysing each other. The participants' growing awareness facilitated to repeat particular actions which could prove their capacity to improve the effectiveness of resourcing. Consequently, the enhanced effectiveness of (collective) resourcing could serve as underlying (evolutionary) selection mechanism favouring cooperation (Csányi, 1989)³⁵⁹ and amplifying the association-prone character of feed backing change processes.

The association-prone tendencies could feedback with the civil society players' growing awareness of civil Economics focusing on co-creation of common - rather than total - good through more effective and productive collective resource use - in true spirit of "liberal plan" as Smith (1759, 1776, 1790) envisaged. "Smith believes that the liberal plan...produces the greatest wealth for the nation and distributes the wealth most justly. That plan is the most materially productive because the freedom and security it affords each individual encourages the most productive use of resources..." (Evensky, 2007:13). Such enhanced productivity fed back with association-prone - rather than competitive - patterns of resource enactment

³⁵⁷ The decentralised and horizontal patterns allowed carrying out networking patterns of resourcing whose "...core assumption...is that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members' value...[similarly to the]...Internet"(Rifkin, 2011:268).

³⁵⁸ Vitányi (2007) links the growing complexity of communities with extensive and intensive indicators of energy (resource) usage, consumption. The extensive aspect of energy feeds back with the volume and scope of relations by indicating in a sense the number of interacting individuals. The intensive aspect of energy indicates the intensity of collectively undertaken values, i.e. the degree as the individuals identify themselves with common values. The second level communities are characterised with high volume and low intensity. The tertiary or third level communities are domains of high volume and high intensity, where large numbers of participants are intensely engaged with common values that in turn facilitate to improve their life quality.

³⁵⁹ This catalytic constellation could amplify readiness and motivation to cooperate aiming at mutual advantage also in environments characterized by dominance-seeking competition - by enhancing broader association-prone tendencies. I.e. it could catalyse to bring about cooperation into competitive environments (Benkler, 2011).

(Orlikowski, 1992, 2000) interplaying with embeddedness (Granovetter, 1985). The enhanced effectiveness of resourcing could be simultaneously driver, catalyst and outcome in context of altering dialectics of cooperation emerging through networking self-upgrading - as the next section discusses.

New dialectics of cooperation - going beyond 'cooperation within boundaries'

The strong association-prone institutional settings interplayed with the volunteers' disposition to cooperate allowing contributing to common efforts also unilaterally. Such enhanced motivation interplayed with extension of radius of trust across boundaries of particular organizations. This constellation enabled cooperation among *members of various communities* that could interplay with new dialectics of cooperation. Such new dialectics was intertwined with multidimensional, feed backing changes that allowed "transcending cooperation within boundaries", i.e. overcoming barriers limiting collaboration (solely) in frame of single (social) entities. The volunteers' enhanced collaboration unfolding 'without boundaries' may enable "...to re-establish [and extend across boundaries of particular organizations and entities the radius of] the original face-to-face character of relationships characteristic for primary communities in a world where superficial connections, relations almost sweep away the ones with genuine depth"(Vitányi, 2007:223).

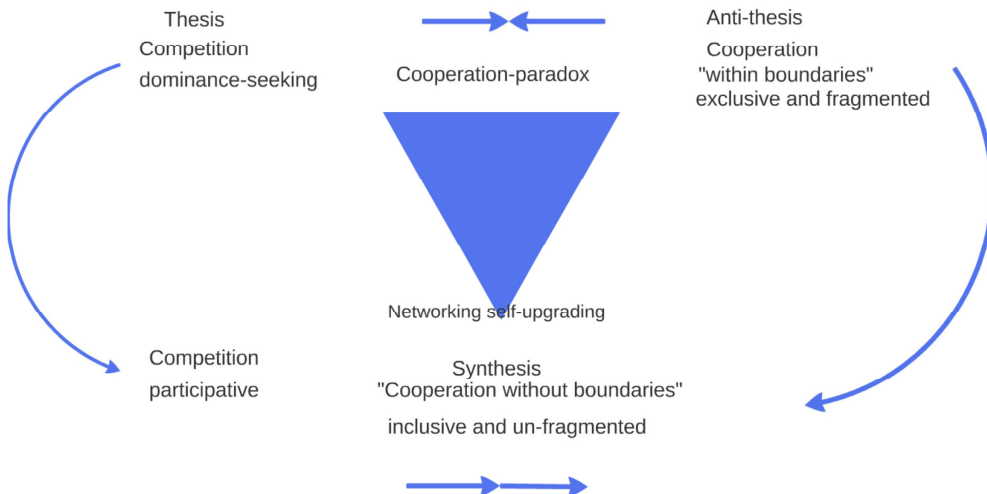


Figure 7: New dialectics of cooperation

The most salient aspects of the new dialectics of "cooperation without boundaries" depict the Figure N 7. As graphical imagery shows although the cooperation may serve as the antithesis

of dominance-seeking competition, most frequently it possesses exclusive and fragmented character. I.e. although it succeeds to bring collaboration into an environment dominated by dominance-seeking attitude, colliding, conflicting and confronting relational dynamism, in most cases it remains limited within boundaries of particular groups or organizations. Moreover, the intra-organizational cooperation paradoxically serves as source and driver of robust competition with dominance-seeking character among various entities. The cooperation that aims to overcome ‘internally’ alienating and estranging challenges and deformations, which the dominance-seeking character of competition may generate, paradoxically, it may re-generate such competition ‘externally’. I.e. the collaboration due to its exclusive and limited character may bring about the *cooperation paradox* - its own diametrical opposite or antipode, i.e. causing its deep and broad self-alienation.

Emerging networks of self-upgrading communities exemplify that third order social entities (Vitányi, 2007) by following dialectic approach can disengage positively the rigid dichotomy of ‘cooperation vs. competition’. I.e. the networking self-upgrading may enable, catalyse, and capitalise on altered, inclusive and non-fragmented ‘cooperation without boundaries’. It proposes genuine *synthesis* simultaneously affecting and transforming cooperation and competition, as well as the dynamics of their interplay. Such dialectic synthesis may (re-) create coherency allowing transforming the antipodes into mutual catalysts - and constituents. I.e. the volunteers’ competition gaining altered, participative character may turn from antipode into powerful driver of cooperation. The altered cooperation may become inclusive and un-fragmented taking place ‘without boundaries’ overcoming its exclusive, fragmented character which narrowed its sphere “within boundaries”. The synthesis brings (rather emerges through) a new dynamics, which is the outcome of transformations affecting simultaneously both competition and cooperation by allowing their altered coherency and their resultants’ additive character.

The cooperation’s qualitative transformation elevates it into new, higher dimension³⁶⁰ and simultaneously brings about altered, participative pattern of competition focusing on improved contribution to collective efforts. These qualitative shifts are intertwined, mutually catalytic, and synchronous, unfolding simultaneously. It allows overcoming the partial, limited, exclusive and fragmented character of ‘cooperation within boundaries’ and generates

³⁶⁰ Due to their qualitative rather than quantitative character such transformation of cooperation and competition may remain tacit (or even invisible) for external observers.

the participative character of competition by turning it into important driver of cooperation and effective source of the extension of collective resource base.

Such synthesis feeds back with, rather takes place through, the emergence of innovative patterns of large-scale collaboration (Benkler, 2011) similar to networks of self-upgrading, ‘third level’ (Vitányi, 2007) communities. The third degree entities are domains of altered association-prone structuration where collaboration is the ‘primary structure’ that replaces domination - in internal and external context - and also signification and legitimation follow altered, association-prone character. In such constellation the power has horizontal, shared and sharing, non-zero-sum and non-domination character replacing its previous vertical, hierarchical, domination and control type pattern (Table N8).

The civil society organizations focus on associational advantage by co-creating social - rather than economic - capital, value, and wealth. Their qualitative transformation, networking self-upgrading unfolds through interplay between competition gaining participative character and cooperation with growingly inclusive and seamless character that may cross also the boundaries of particular organizations³⁶¹. These feed backing transformations enable multiple wins; members of diverse social entities may co-create simultaneously mutual advantage as well as their broader environment. I.e. the new dialectics of cooperation may offer genuine non-zero-sum type solutions by extending and upgrading the collective resource base. The competing volunteers offer improved individual contributions to cooperative efforts aiming co-creation of better solutions providing mutual, ‘sharable’ advantage for all participants - and also for “non-participants”.

The altered dialectics of cooperation facilitates in multiple ways to extend the collective resource base. The participants during their interactions simultaneously enact and share necessary resources. The participative competition may increase the frequency and intensity of individual interactions by extending also the overall volume of mobilized resources³⁶².

³⁶¹ I.e. the civil society - consisting of mainly second order social entities (Vitányi, 2007) - presupposes and facilitates high and growing level of social productivity characteristic for the industrial society. The self-empowerment of the civil society capitalizes on and is the catalyst of altered, growingly non-wage work focused patterns of social division of labour facilitating increasing productivity as well as extension and upgrading of the social resource base.

³⁶² Participative competition ceases to generate dominance-seeking dynamism and to operate as an end in itself.

ATTRIBUTES	ASSOCIATIONAL DYNAMISM	COMPETITIVE DYNAMISM
Institutional paradigm	Non-zero-sum approach / Interdependence	Zero-sum paradigm / Resource scarcity view
Attitude	Association-prone	Domination-seeking
Resource	Sharing	Property /excluding sharing
Scarcity	Overcome	Reproduce
Competition	In multiplication of resources	For bigger part of private resources
Network perception	Community networks	Power networks
Pattern of resourcing	Sharing and multiplying	Owning limited resources
Resource handling	Enact and share distributed resources	Own, accumulate, redistribute
Power relations	Power sharing	Hierarchical domination and control
Leadership	Enabling "with words"	Domination and control over people and processes
Cooperation	Seamless, un-fragmented, inclusive	Fragmented and exclusive, limited 'within boundaries'
Vision	Bringing cooperation into competitive environment	Using limited cooperation in dominance seeking competition
Capability	Co-creation and sharing	Competition among overcapacities
Relational dynamism	Collaborative	Competitive-> colliding -conflicting-confronting
Organizing	Lateral self-organizing among volunteers	Hierarchical bureaucracies of domination
Self-organizing	Self-organizing mass collaboration	Self-organizing mass competition
Structuration	Association-prone re-configuration	Primacy of dominance seeking

Table 8: Comparison of associational and competitive dynamics

The horizontal, decentralized, networking and sharing resource enactment enables to avoid rather resource intensive establishment and maintenance of organizational hierarchies. The institutional primacy of non-zero-sum approach enables to escape tendencies leading to the self-fulfilling prophecy of resource-scarcity³⁶³. The interplay between participative competition and inclusive and non-fragmented cooperation enables to simultaneously improve the effectiveness of resourcing and expand the collective resource base.

The volunteers' self-communication may facilitate to co-create their awareness of the advantage³⁶⁴ that the association-prone resourcing offers through horizontal and decentralized enactment of distributed resources³⁶⁵. The participative character of competition facilitates mutualistic and co-opetitive (Brandenburger and Nalebuff, 1996) relational tendencies "internally" as well as across entities and fields. It may contribute to prevent cooperation paradox, i.e. self-alienation of collaboration, and simultaneously may facilitate to overcome mass-alienation tendencies.

The qualitative shift of cooperation, i.e. the relational change, is intertwined with (self-) empowering individuation in personal context and the commons' transformation, self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third order (Vitányi, 2007) social entity at organizational level. These personal, relational, organizational changes mutually presuppose,

³⁶³ The 'traditional', dominance-seeking competition is oriented to create competitive advantage that aims to increase the winners' resource share but may generate self-enforcing *negative* feedback loops and robust 'cost increase'. It may diminish simultaneously both the effectiveness of resource enactment (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000) and the available collective resource base - by decreasing relative size of the winner's and everybody's 'share'. I.e. the zero-sum competition turns the perception of resources as scarce and limited into self-fulfilling prophecy.

³⁶⁴ The participative competition may capitalize on avoiding and saving 'costs' that dominance-seeking competition related collisions generate. The dominance-seeking competition, its important, but frequently overlooked, dual paradox affecting resourcing and cooperation may bring about double negative, or even lose-lose or multiple lose outcomes (Sodic). "Species interact in three ways: competition, predation and mutualism. Competition typically results in a double negative - that is both species lose in the interaction. Predation is a win/lose situation with one species winning. Mutualism, on the other hand, involves both species cooperating in some way, with both winning" Sodic <http://skoola.com/lecturepage.php?id=2687&cid=13> (Extracted: 10 June 2012) Competing market players spend growing part of available resources on efforts aiming to "beat competitors", gain dominance and maintain control over accessible resources - primarily purchase capability or 'markets'. The growingly colliding relational dynamism at field-level leads to spending a significant and growing part of resources to gain and increase proprietary dominance over possible highest 'share' of overall resource base. The costs of competition following zero-sum paradigm have increasing tendency and they ultimately may decrease also the collective resource base. The paradox of competitive advantage is that it consumes increasing volume of available collective resources on growing inter-organizational competition, collisions and conflicts why tend to capitalize on resource intensive limited intra-organizational cooperation.

³⁶⁵ The growing awareness of resource-intensiveness and 'negative externalities' of traditional, dominance-seeking competition in turn may become important driver of altered, participative patterns of competition. I.e. the awareness of costs of dominance seeking competition may contribute to enhanced motivation to cooperate. Resource intensive exercises similar to accumulation and redistribution, as well as establishment and maintenance of ownership (Ostrom, 1990) may become redundant.

catalyse, and are constitutive of each other - and may interplay with broader association-prone alterations by affecting and bringing transformations also into their environment.

In other words, the networking self-upgrading unfolds through changes in four aspects by affecting the cooperative interactions, the volunteer co-operators, their commons and their environment. Their feedbacks interplay with - simultaneously generate and capitalise on - the aggregation of further, multi-dimensional transformations that ultimately may bring about also social change. These feed backing alterations are mutually catalytic and their impacts may strengthen, amplify, and elevate association-prone dynamism on new qualitative level.

Transformations generating “collective associatedness”

The communities’ networking self-upgrading is intertwined with personal transformations unfolding as empowering individuation (Grenier, 2006) feed backing with growing awareness of being person in community (Whitehead, 1929, Cobb, 2007, Nonaka et al., 2008), i.e. one’s (ultimate) belonging to global human collective. They facilitate the community members’ empowering individuation enabling to overcome massive individualization³⁶⁶ pressures that Vitányi (2007:121) coins - by reformulating Kant - as “collective un-befrendiedness”. The project (Castells, 1996) or third degree (Vitányi, 2007) civil society entities are domains enabling truly global reach for traditional face to face fellowships and their intimacy by simultaneously renewing and upgrading them into enhanced “collective associatedness” (Vitányi, 2007).

The communities’ networking self-upgrading takes place through and catalyses qualitative shifts in relationships also internally. The dynamic upgrading of cooperation catalyses the community members’ empowering individuation, their transformation into “...autonomous individuals [who] consciously organize themselves into “tertiary” or “third degree”³⁶⁷ communities based on commonly undertaken quality and values...”(Vitányi, 2007:121). These feed backing changes elevate existing cooperation into new, qualitatively higher

³⁶⁶ The continuous break down of remaining traditional or “first degree” communities and frequent shallowness of second degree communities in mass societies - similar to current industrial information society - feeds back with mass-alienation tendencies.

³⁶⁷ The first degree is “one-dimensional”, the second degree is “multi-dimensional”, while the third degree community is the multidimensional system constituted by interplaying dimensions - argues Vitányi (2007). Actually Putnam (2000) coins civic, civil right, environmental organizations as “tertiary organizations”.

dimension³⁶⁸ rather than simply adding one more, new dimension to existing contexts or fields of cooperation (Vitányi, 2007)³⁶⁹. The networking self-upgrading may provide high volume and high intensity of creative energies and social resources³⁷⁰. The mass-emergence of tertiary or third degree social entities³⁷¹ is also constitutive of mass presence of large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011). They become organic parts and growingly important drivers of social life (Vitányi, 2007) by amplifying its association-prone dynamism.

Networking of large-scale patterns of cooperation creating organizational fields

The emerging new patterns of large scale collaboration carry out and amplify networked cooperation and co-creation. These tendencies utilise and catalyse advantages provided by interplay among *networking patterns* of resourcing, value creation and power relations³⁷² interplaying with improved effectiveness of resourcing³⁷³. Such effectiveness-gain capitalizes also on non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28), mostly soft resources enabling to extend and upgrade collective, ultimately also societal, resource base. The networks of large-scale patterns may operate as third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities, i.e. may serve as domains of inclusive and un-fragmented cooperation and may aggregate into and operate as quasi-fields³⁷⁴.

³⁶⁸ The third degree community "...matches with the project identity and project community of Manuel Castells (2006) described in his second book about the network (societies). Upon Castells the identity is the key issue. If the individual who has remained alone searches for communities in the informational-network society, first has to establish its identity. One can chose among three types. (1) The legitimating identity based on the past. (2) The resistant identity based on the present. (3) The project identity based on the future. The notion of value is also linked to the future (meaning the "Sollen" as "becoming" or "should be"). The project in this aspect symbolises the association (conscious undertaking) for the sake of the common /(co-)creation of / values" – argues Vitányi (2007:121).

³⁶⁹ I.e. the networking self-upgrading allowing collaboration among members of various communities may facilitate to elevate cooperative relationships to higher dimension also among members 'inside' communities.

³⁷⁰ Vitányi (2007) links the complexity of the communities with extensive and intensive indicators of energy (or resource) usage, consumption. The extensive energy or the volume and scope of relations in a sense indicate the number of interacting individuals. The intensive energy indicates the intensity of collectively undertaken values, i.e. the degree as the individuals identify themselves with common values. The second level communities are characterised with high volume and low intensity. The tertiary communities are domains of high volume and high intensity, where large numbers of participants are intensely engaged with common values that in turn facilitate to improve their life quality. Vitányi (2007) by discussing extensive and intensive indicators of social energy generation and consumption recalls the relevant indications of Anatol Rapaport and Albert Hajnal.

³⁷¹ Tertiary communities in the past existed as great friendships and life-long cooperation among team members.

³⁷² These networking patterns interplay with association-prone institutional-relational changes affecting also the third institutional infrastructure discussed below.

³⁷³ The improved effectiveness of (collective) resourcing may operate as ultimate driver, selecting factor of networking self-upgrading tendencies at higher, even at societal level.

³⁷⁴ The more advanced is the communities' transformation into broadening networks of project (Castells, 1996) or third degree (Vitányi, 2007) social entities the stronger effects may generate their quasi-field(s).

These emerging quasi-fields capitalize on and amplify feed backing association-prone changes in various - including institutional, relational, communication, and power - dimensions interplaying with effectiveness-gains in resourcing. The feed backing aggregation of multi-dimensional changes facilitates in turn the operation of these fields as catalytic macro-platforms enabling and shaping broader transformations. I.e. the quasi-fields of networking self-upgrading of the civil society entities may play broader intermediary and transformational role serving as source, catalyst and amplifier of association-prone dynamism³⁷⁵. These dynamics are constitutive of and feedback with the self-empowerment of the civil society catalysing the emergence of associational societal kinetics characterized by enhanced cooperative and additive dynamism.

Networking self-upgrading as micro-macro bridge

The emergence of networks and quasi-fields of self-upgrading civil society organizations unfolds through horizontal interplay among “weak ties” of individuals and large scale social patterns (Granovetter, 1973). This interplay may serve as dynamic two-way micro-macro bridge facilitating that the “...interaction in small groups aggregates...becomes translated into large-scale patterns, and that these, in turn, feed back into small groups...” - as Granovetter (1973:1360) indicates. This interplay unfolds as dynamic aggregation of relationship dyads³⁷⁶ what may carry out scale-free, fractal like transposition (Plowman et al., 2007) and amplification of association-prone institutional-relational dynamism across fields. I.e. the continuous, patterned aggregation of feed backing relationship dyads may operate as dynamic ‘patterning mechanism’ catalysing horizontalization tendencies and ultimately generating and shaping also a dynamic social ‘topography’.

Micro-macro patterning through relational geometry

Such dynamic, continuously changing social topography is characterized by a dynamic lateral geometry. Its actual patterns emerge as resultants or outcomes of interplay among relationship dyads constitutive of large-scale social patterns and ultimately the society as a whole. I.e. the emergence of large-scale social patterns unfolds as *patterned aggregation of dyads* of personal relationships shaped by and simultaneously carrying out institutional-relational dynamics. Primarily the relationship dyads among members of personal core groups (Adams,

³⁷⁵ They may facilitate the synthesis between competition and cooperation bringing about new dialectics of collaboration and amplify its effect at broader, also at macro-level.

³⁷⁶ The dynamically interacting relationship dyads may carry out the self-organizing of loose, dynamic agglomerates constituting the interacting individuals’ local relational networks.

2010)³⁷⁷, their vivid interactions and self-communication draw up “contingent dynamism” and shape lateral geometry in inter-organizational space aggregating into societal topography. The patterned aggregation unfolds as structuration that carries out ultimately the constitution of society (Giddens, 1984).

In the empirical domain (Bhaskar, 1978) observers identify primarily patterns perceived as organizational entities (re-emerging during longer periods) and events unfolding as intersections of multidimensional processes (both taking place in actual domain)³⁷⁸. Therefore the inter-organizational space can be perceived as ‘empty and motionless’, since highly dynamic (patterns of) relational geometry³⁷⁹ created by ‘high frequency’ and density of relational dyads may remain less visible or undetected for the observers³⁸⁰. In real domain the inter-organizational space consists of, unfolds as continuous, intense interplay among countless personal interactions or relationship dyads. This constellation by considering the resources’ relational character explains why the inter-organizational space may serve as important source of resourcing for civil society entities.

The connectivity - as the capability of (re-) establish personal contacts - may feedback with (generation and enactment of) social capital enabling to extend the radius of trust (Fukuyama, 1999) and self-communication (Castells, 2009). The extension of the radius of trust may enable to establish and maintain contacts and mutually empowering relationships also among

³⁷⁷ Although enabling technologies may facilitate to increase personal contacts following exponential dynamism the individuals (continue to) focus on “core groups” consisting of 3-7 members on average (Adams, 2010). The growing accessibility of digital enabling technologies seems bring about qualitative changes in the sense that members of such core teams may be located, and “dispersed” indeed globally. The enabling technologies create also the capability to (re-) activate “quasi-instantly” one’s contacts and smoothly handle relationships with individuals not belonging to one’s core group. In personal local networks and civil society entities the improving ability to re-contact partners, i.e. the participants’ connectivity, may simultaneously catalyse and capitalize on enhanced association-prone dynamism. Actually the networking may amplify such association-prone dynamism also in their broader environment and even across fields.

³⁷⁸ As a consequence the inter-organizational space mostly is perceived as empty and motionless, since “high frequency” interplay among personal relationship dyads unfolding in real domain remains invisible for and unnoticed by the observers. The continuous (re-)emergence of various organizational entities - and events - turns to be more visible. I.e. these emergent resultants generated by less dense and more patterned interplay among relationship dyads are already “visible” and observable.

³⁷⁹ The inter-organizational space is the dynamic resultant of multitude of self-organizing patterns emerging as aggregation of the agents’ relational dyads. Although the “density” of interplaying relational (or inter-personal) dyads may be much higher in the inter-organizational space, the relationship patterns - observed as entities such as organizations - have much stronger visibility.

³⁸⁰ Due to their high frequency and multiplicity the personal dyads are mostly observable ex post. Therefore more explicit shifts in relational-type dynamic geometry of inter-organizational space are observable mostly indirectly, through the aggregate outcome(s) - as in case of unexpected shifts in election or plebiscite results.

members of diverse communities³⁸¹. The accessibility of enabling technologies may facilitate to expand connectivity³⁸² by simultaneously improving self-communication as well as resource enactment and cooperation. The self-communication provides unprecedented autonomy for communicating individuals (Castells, 2009). It may also generate the participants' growing awareness of institutional alterations as well as accelerate institutional changes³⁸³. The civil society's (capability and actual capacity of) self-communication may facilitate its self-empowerment in interplay with strengthening the association-prone dynamism of the third societal infrastructure - as discussed below.

These feed backing empowering tendencies may improve the civil society players' capacity to establish and operate large-scale patterns of cooperation serving as domains of "...civil work [which] may create the 'culture of creativity' [and] horizontal democracy...[of] new socio-cultural movements and communities...by heading toward the civil society..." - as Vitányi (2007:177) points out by recalling Beck (1992, 2000). Civil society organizations may facilitate and capitalize on social innovations and new forms of direct democracy³⁸⁴ creating growing role of lateral power structures enabling mass-empowerment. These tendencies may simultaneously affect and help to (re-) shape also the public sector.

The civil society may carry out and provide domain for civil work by facilitating to "smoothly absorb" - rather re-mobilize - significant creative energies that the emergence of new, digital second economy (Arthur, 2011) may liberate from wage work. I.e. the civil society may progressively contribute to replace "hierarchies and markets" at level of macro-institutions (Farrell and Shalizi, 2012)³⁸⁵ and may become even focal 'macro-sector' of society in longer run (Anheier, 2004; Rifkin, 2004, 2011; Benkler, 2011; and Reichel, 2012). The civil society may catalyse and carry out its self-empowerment and affect characteristic patterns of mutual approximation of macro-sectors - as the next part discusses.

³⁸¹ The trustful relationships capitalizing on availability and co-creation of social capital (Fukuyama, 1999) serve as precondition for and catalysts of communication and cooperation (Luhmann, 1995). These latter in turn facilitate networking self-upgrading, i.e. enhanced connectivity is generative of emerging community networks.

³⁸² The enabling, digital technologies may serve as 'technical carriers' of connectivity.

³⁸³ Self-communication may facilitate the participants' and their interactions' growing reflectivity, reflexivity - enhanced knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984).

³⁸⁴ In context of direct democracy the characteristics of the inter-organizational space, its capacity to provide access to locally available resources primarily to civil society players might have increased significance.

³⁸⁵ (Cognitive) democracy serves to find solution for complex social problems more effectively than other macro-institutions such as hierarchies or markets - point out Farrell and Shalizi (2012). They indicate that the relative equality of power and distributed (access to) resources is "more likely to converge on solutions with broad social benefits"(Farrell and Shalizi, 2012:6).

Macro-sectorial convergence – self-empowerment of the civil society

The self-empowerment of the civil society³⁸⁶ and the emergence of a new, digital second economy are important tendencies, which feedback with and carry out the emergence of a knowledge driven Next Society (Reichel, 2012). Similarly the crowd sourcing type cooperation between companies and - often unstructured, loose - networks and other forms of self-organizing civil mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006) indicate approximation or convergence tendencies between players of civil society and market and public sectors. These tendencies may generate a new, co-evolutionary socio-institutional dynamism, which may inaugurate the transformation of industrial information society into knowledge-driven society. The interactions among members of communities and their self-transforming, self-upgrading networks may create new quality of human relations and of human personality (Scharmer, 2007; Castells, 1996) that together with a new dialectics of cooperation may play important role in ‘emergence’ of a knowledge-driven ‘flat’, horizontal, society. The emergence of a new communication and energy / resourcing regime (Rifkin, 2011) may serve as important driver and carrier of changes aggregating into broad transformations constitutive of the ‘horizontal emergence’ of knowledge-driven society.

This networked, sharing civil society possesses association-prone kinetics with renewal dynamism driven by lateral interplay of human and social actions and communication, i.e. growingly conscious networking tendencies, (Castells, 1996; Giddens, 1984; 1990; 1998; Habermas, 1987; 1995; Friedman, 2005; Toffler, 1980; 1994, 2007). The knowledge-driven society in a sense may emerge through the macro-sectors’ mutual approximation or convergence unfolding and taking shape through their vivid interplay and simultaneous repositioning. This interplay among the civil society, and the market and public sectors simultaneously involves feedbacks with and among major societal infrastructures - discussed in the next section. This multidimensional interplay constitutes and shapes convergence processes that carry out the knowledge society’s lateral or horizontal emergence through feedbacking qualitative shifts by following non-linear, contingent trajectory unfolding as resultant of often diverging, colliding, conflicting or even confronting tendencies.

³⁸⁶ The “...rise of the civil society...may, in fact, prove to be as significant a development of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as the rise of the nation-state was of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” - indicate Salamon et al. (2003:2) by summing up findings from a global survey of civil society.

Interplay among macro-sectors and societal infrastructures

The roads, rail- and, water-roads, pipelines, electric grids, lines of transmission and telegraph lines aggregate into globally inter-linked and expanding networks of transport and communication capacities constituting *the first societal infrastructure*. This infrastructure facilitates global mobility of goods, service delivery and “human capital” and includes ‘traditional’ forms of telecommunication³⁸⁷. The *second societal infrastructure* consists of the global network(s) of mostly digital information-communication technologies often connected through Internet. It creates and amplifies the individuals’ quasi-instant mobile connectivity with (growingly) global reach. The current emergence of the “Internet of things” (IOT) may physically re-link the first and second societal infrastructure.

The “...wider social and cultural context...[the] environments create the infrastructures - regulative, normative, and cognitive - that constrain and support the operation of individual organizations”(Scott, 1995:151). I.e. they operate as ‘soft’, institutional-type components of a societal infrastructure that ‘provides’ for structuration - i.e. the constitution of society (Giddens, 1984) - both interpretative schemes of signification enacted through communication and norms of legitimation for sanctioning. The growingly association-prone tendencies of this institutional infrastructure interplay with the communities and civil society organizations’ networking self-upgrading into third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities by creating quasi-fields. The networking self-transformation is intertwined with the new dialectics of cooperation - and competition - elevating collaboration into qualitatively higher level. These quasi-fields of third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities ‘emerge laterally’ constitute a dynamic, horizontal social layer cutting across boundaries of other social entities and fields³⁸⁸ while actively promoting associational dynamics. The emergence of quasi-fields of civil society entities (self-) transforming into third level social entities feeds back with growingly association-prone character of the third institutional infrastructure. Their mutually catalytic interplay constitutes, operates as a *third, institutional-relational-type societal infrastructure*, which actively facilitates and amplifies broad, association-prone and additive dynamics and transformations.

The relational character of resources and resourcing has profound significance for the third societal infrastructure. This dynamic, active and transformative, third societal infrastructure

³⁸⁷ Physical components of non-digital telecommunications’ systems and second infrastructure may overlap.

³⁸⁸ The emergence of these quasi-fields is self-organizing, self-regulating and self-empowering.

possesses institutional-relational constituents and character and it capitalizes on and catalyses the self-organizing mass enactment of non-depletable and non-rivalrous, self-multiplying 'soft' energies, including knowledge, information, and the creativity - i.e. the "generic essence" of the human beings (Vitányi, 2007)³⁸⁹. The intense, mass-level enactment, reproduction, and multiplication of soft resources and the facilitation of the additive impacts of the enhanced association-prone dynamism in resource dimension may facilitate increased effectiveness of collective resourcing. I.e. these tendencies contribute to the extension and upgrading of the collective resource base and its feedbacks with growingly association-prone dynamics - connected with mass-level un-alienation tendencies as discussed below.

The civil society organizations serve as domains and amplifiers of associational dynamics by generating trust and catalysing the extension of its radius by crossing boundaries of particular organizations. It allows facilitating the commons' networking self-upgrading by generating and extending their quasi-fields³⁹⁰. The 'horizontal emergence' of quasi-fields consisting of broadening networks of self-upgrading civil society entities interfere with, catalyses and amplifies the increasingly association-prone dynamism of the third, institutional(-relational) infrastructure. In other words, such interplay operates as, catalyses and re-generates the third societal infrastructure.

The institutional-relational character of this combined, third societal infrastructure 'consists of' - is observable primarily as - quasi-fields emerging through the civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading. "The notion of field connotes the existence of a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside of the field" - points out Scott (1995:56). Since the "...application of a distinctive complex of institutional rules...to a large extent, coterminous with ...definition of field"(Scott, 1995:135) the latter is characterized and 'driven' by institutional (dis-)similarities rather than by co-location or organizational connections.

This active third, institutional-relational societal infrastructure enhances the capability of self-empowering "...civil society organizations [to] offer services ...contribute to a broad social

³⁸⁹ The third societal infrastructure capitalizes on - and basically consists of - the volunteers' communicative interactions, which simultaneously carry out the horizontal, decentralized, sharing and multiplicative enactment of distributed resources, since: "Ultimately only the individuals act"(Demeulenaere, 2009).

³⁹⁰ This multidimensional interplay due to its components' catalytic reverse effects may form self-enforcing feedback loops by increasing cooperative relational dynamism at systemic level (Prigogine, 1984, 1997; Csányi, 1989; László, 1992; Nagy, 2000).

infrastructure that supports society. ...they are integral to any vibrant society and support the activities of the private sector through enhancing productivity (Putnam, 1993, 2000) and the activities of the public sector through strengthening democracy. Without those organizations, society, as we know it, would not exist” - as Mook et al., (2015:128-129) indicate.

This third societal infrastructure actively may contribute to and catalyse the civil society’s self-empowerment through the association-prone character of macro-sectorial convergence driven by the emergence of the second digital economy (Arthur, 2011). Its association-prone dynamism may amplify empowering and un-alienating tendencies partly through catalysing the improved effectiveness of collective resourcing. The stronger the constituents - and their mutually catalytic interplay - of the third societal infrastructure may become the more effectively may contribute to un-alienating trends. I.e. it may facilitate to overcome the current ‘stalemate’ among empowering and dis-empowering tendencies generating growingly sophisticated mass-alienation trends.

Both the institutional component and the emerging quasi-fields of the civil society entities carrying out networking self-upgrading possess association-prone dynamics and their interplay may generate and amplify altered, ‘non-traditional’ or atypical institutional isomorphic pressures³⁹¹ (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). The presence and growing significance of altered, association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures - as empirical data indicate³⁹² - generate and amplify broad association-prone dynamics. These feed backing, multidimensional changes are connected with the civil society’s growing activity and self-empowerment - as the next part describes.

Self-empowerment of the civil society as function system of society

The civil society organizations’ transformational dynamism is connected with the interplay between their specific characteristics (Table N 9) bringing about the abundance of social capital and an association-prone institutional-relational dynamics. The (accumulated) social capital may facilitate to extend the radius of trust beyond boundaries of particular organizations by enabling networking self-upgrading feed backing with a new dialectics of cooperation. These tendencies may contribute to self-empowerment of the entire civil society and facilitate its transformation into “...a function system that is not in the ‘in between’ of

³⁹¹ Since the resultants of such interplay may alter their directions such isomorphism may contribute to diverse changes - as discussed below in connection with its association-prone patterns.

³⁹² Isomorphism generally is perceived as transformational effects of market sector upon other macro-sectors.

everything, as so many definitions claim, but that has a clear locus in society with a clear and necessary function... providing joint collaborative action for the common good and social coherence... [It] tries to solve those problems that are not solved by any other part of society”(Reichel, 2012:58-60). I.e. the civil society’s functional role “...is the provision of stability for joint collective action for something greater than just individual benefits”- as Reichel (2012) indicates.

Sector	Character of organization	Output of activity	Character of work	Outcome	Capitalization	Personal activity	Personal character
Market sector	private organizations	profit optimization	wage work	wealth generation	economic, financial	organizational role	Homo economicus
Public sector	public organizations	delivery of public services	wage work	professional ethic	financial	organizational role	Homo politicus, “bureaucrats”
Civil society	private organizations serving public purposes	cooperative self-actualization	passionate, sharing co-creation	holistic personality autonomous self	social capital	personality driven co-creation	Homo communis - “person in community”

Table 9: Characteristics of organizations in market and public sectors and in civil society

Operating as function system the civil society may catalyse also altered pattern(s) of social division of labour characterized by primacy of the non-wage work in the civil economy (Bruyn 2000). The civil economy “...is about how people live in communities”(Bruyn 2000:235), i.e. in commons consisting of “physical” and virtual civil society entities having a tendency to networking and sharing. Such new civil economy (Bruyn 2000) may serve as a domain of meaningful and empowering activities unfolding in civil society organizations allowing fulfilling the volunteers’ higher level needs (Maslow, 1943, Koltko-Rivera, 2006)³⁹³ by re-generating their enhanced motivation to collaborate. This constellation may affect and be intertwined with alterations in characteristic patterns of both producing and distributing prosperity by simultaneously presupposing and amplifying association-prone dynamics of the emergence of the new, second, digital economy (Arthur, 2011).

Since the second economy ‘liberates’ human creativity from the wage work the civil society and specifically a new civil economy should enable alternative ways of meaningful and creative volunteer work. I.e. it has to provide innovative patterns offering capacities to replace

³⁹³ These needs may have of an increasingly “transcendental character” (Rifkin, 2011).

vanishing opportunities for jobs and wage work. The exclusivity of job-focused perception of work should be replaced with - conscious facilitation of – the emergence of patterns of civil, non-wage type work³⁹⁴. Civil work unfolding as voluntary, passionate and sharing co-creation generates primarily social value and wealth, may enable deep play³⁹⁵ fulfilling growingly transcendental needs through socializing (Rifkin, 2011). The civil economy may catalyse non-wage work focused reconfiguration of the social division of labour by repositioning the civil society through the macro-sectorial convergence.

This transformation may take place through shifting growing part of human activities toward networking entities of self-empowering civil society including new, growingly sophisticated patterns of large-scale collaboration. As Benkler (2011: Acknowledgments) emphasizes the “...large-scale cooperation, such as free and open-source software or Wikipedia was not a bizarre side story of the Net, but a core vector through which the transition to a networked society and economy was happening”. The thesis assumes that compared to their future, sophisticated variants the currently observable forms and patterns of large scale collaboration may prove to be their “rudimentary forms”. I.e. they may play similar ‘forerunner’ role as merchant capital did at dawn of industrial era³⁹⁶ in comparison to the enhanced sophistication and transformational potential of subsequently emerging industrial, financial (and the yet emergent knowledge) capital. The large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011) may contribute to the civil society’s self-empowerment opening way toward a genuine, yet only nascent post-scarcity economy (Giddens, 1984) of an emerging knowledge society.

Digital second economy - potential interplay with civil economies

The market sector’s operation gains increasingly knowledge-driven character feed backing with an emerging digital second economy (Arthur, 2011; Cicero, 2012). I.e. “...another economy - a second economy - of all ...digitized business processes conversing, executing, and triggering further actions is silently forming alongside the physical economy ...[P]rocesses in the physical economy are being entered into the digital economy, where they are “speaking to” other processes...in a constant conversation among...multiple semi-

³⁹⁴ “The solution is to begin to de-link work from wages” - indicates Mason (2016) distributive aspect of change.

³⁹⁵ “Deep play is the way we experience the other, transcend ourselves, and connect to broader, ever more inclusive communities of life in our common search for universality. The third sector is where we participate, even on the simplest of levels, in the most important journey of life - the exploration of the meaning of our existence”(Rifkin, 2011:268).

³⁹⁶ This conclusion offered Professor Risto Tainio, the supervisor of this thesis.

intelligent nodes...eventually connecting back with processes and humans in the physical economy”(Arthur, 2011:3).

Indeed the accelerating speed of technology developments facilitates alterations whose aggregation seem to bring about fundamental changes to both economy and society at systemic, macro level. I.e. these transformations go much further than ‘simply’ replacing with robots, automated machinery, computers, and their complex production complexes³⁹⁷ the jobs of individual human beings. The systemic-level transformations systematically take over and smoothly eliminate - besides jobs, professions, firms, and economic units - also broad clusters and whole (sub-) sectors by reshaping the entire economy. The expanding second economy (Arthur, 2011) rapidly takes over mass production, especially standardized, ‘linear’, repetitive jobs. These changes quickly shrink the ‘volume’ of wage work that mass production of goods and services ‘consumes’ in order to fulfil primary - physiological and safety related - needs (Maslow, 1943)³⁹⁸.

Since the emergence of digital second economy rapidly diminishes the mass production’s ‘demand’ in mass employment, it pushes forward *distribution* related issues³⁹⁹. The growing dual shortage of jobs and purchasing capacity becomes prohibitive⁴⁰⁰ and in multiple ways endangers stability at systemic level (Barton, 2011)⁴⁰¹. To capitalise on significant *potential* that second economy offers for rapid increase of productivity requires providing suitable patterns of distribution of prosperity⁴⁰² connected to and in frame of altered social division of labour (Mason, 2016). This latter has to enable progressively shifting the focus on non-wage

³⁹⁷ The second economy is instantiated into globally networked systems and may remain mostly “invisible”.

³⁹⁸ The basic needs’ volume, content and quality are also increasing and becoming more sophisticated.

³⁹⁹ Other inherent contradiction is that while the “...second economy will certainly be the engine of growth and the provider of prosperity for the rest of this century and beyond ...it may not provide jobs, so there may be prosperity without full access for many. ...the main challenge of the economy is shifting from *producing* prosperity to *distributing* prosperity. The second economy will produce wealth no matter what we do; distributing that wealth has become the main problem. For centuries, wealth has traditionally been apportioned...through jobs, and jobs have always been forthcoming. ...With this digital transformation, this last repository of jobs is shrinking... Perhaps the very idea of a job and of being productive will change over the next two or three decades. ...if we do solve it we may at last have the freedom to invest our energies in creative acts. ...How we will fare in this world, how we will adapt to it, how we will profit from it and share its benefits, is very much up to us [italics in original]”- points out Arthur (2011:6-7).

⁴⁰⁰ Currently the market sector is struggling with growing shortage in highly skilled and creative professionals.

⁴⁰¹ The second economy rapidly decreases demand on the work of „broad middle classes” by eliminating their jobs, income (sources), social status, perspectives, and (human) dignity. These tendencies decompose most elements and mechanisms of the often praised socio-political stability of „two third” societies.

⁴⁰² This potential can be enacted in context shaped by association-prone patterns of third societal infrastructure.

work and facilitate smooth reallocation in frame of a new, civil economy of the human creative energies ‘liberated’ from wage work.

Social capital accumulation logic to replace technology push by shaping second economy

The interplay between the second economy and the macro-sectorial convergence ‘technically’ can facilitate diametrically opposing transformational trends and outcomes. They may feedback with networked patterns of value creation, resourcing, and power relations in civil, sharing economy by simultaneously *decreasing individual burden* of volunteers - and ‘remaining’ employees - and *extending collective resource base*. However, “technically” they equally effectively may continue to maximise individual burden of employees⁴⁰³ and decrease - company contributions and taxes provided to - collective resource base. I.e. they can follow patterns of on-demand, or company driven proprietary patterns rather than genuine sharing economy. Which trend prevail it may depend considerably on ‘effectiveness’ of the third societal infrastructure. To turn the emergence of digital second economy into part of solution from part of problem requires overcoming (the phenomenon called) technology push. The technology is often presented as “neutral”, however, in fact it is context-dependent in multiple ways. The dominant institutional - and socio-economic - settings affect and shape the patterns of its enactment (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000), while the dominant ways of such enactment may re-shape socio-economic trends.

The “...technology is always combined with social system. It is socio-technical system... It’s always a script inside what it is supposed to do. ...The technology is not neutral it’s always built for something. ...There are always...messages intrinsically related to things...which become visible when you try to break the path. “I don’t want to do this I want to do that” - you say, but you can’t! The software can’t do that. ...it’s not neutral it’s always very much built for something! ...Social statement of technologies...how computer is neutral...this discussion was really strong in the 90s ...then it disappeared because the Word came in and everything was fun and web2.0...and we forgot [about] socio-technological constructions” (100-20-11-5:357-370) - point out the experts of SITRA.

The technology is embedded (Granovetter, 1985) in particular local cultures enabling and shaping their enactment (Orlikowski, 1992, 200) by having fundamental importance for and reverse effects on socio-economic development. The “[t]echnologies are products of their time and organizational context, and will reflect the knowledge, materials, interests, and conditions at a given locus in history. There is nothing inevitable or inviolable about them...” - as Orlikowski (1992:421) emphasizes. The phenomenon coined as technology-push is

⁴⁰³ Moreover, they rapidly transform them into self-employed “gig-workers, providers, turkers or rabbits” - as platform owners officially call them (Scholz, 2016:5).

(dynamic) resultant of intersecting processes⁴⁰⁴ aggregating multidimensional interactions among individuals - similarly to any other social, socio-economic phenomenon. Since technology push is frequently depicted as 'superior to' and independent from individual - and in general human - intentions such presentation deprives ability to affect and (re-)shape it⁴⁰⁵. I.e. it obscures that the technology push⁴⁰⁶ is the outcome of human efforts and interactions shaped by dominant culture⁴⁰⁷, currently by institutional primacy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view underlying the market sector's activity.

The current dominance of deregulation trends bring about absence of will and even conscious refusal⁴⁰⁸ to limit or (re-)shape the negative tendencies and 'side effects'. Such technology push⁴⁰⁹ driven emergence of second economy currently unfolds at growingly self-governed and self-(un)controlled manner. This pattern brings about 'pre-programed' increase of socio-economic tensions, collisions and conflicts, which are amplified by accelerating growth of inequalities (Milanovic, 2010; OECD, 2012; Piketty, 2014), and generates exponential increase of environmental unsustainability⁴¹⁰ including climate change. This setup may rapidly diminish the robust positive potential that second economy could offer and provide. However, shifts following association-prone patterns could allow *sharing* - both production and distribution of - *prosperity* by capitalising on and in turn enhancing truly sharing civil economy shaping the macro-sectorial convergence to knowledge-driven society.

Genuinely shared and sharing socio-economic efforts capable deliver solutions should replace 'forced sharing' of devastating consequences (Gurria, 2013). The original concept of sharing

⁴⁰⁴ The first and second societal infrastructures in institutional dimension catalyse and follow the zero-sum approach and strengthen the technology push as well as its interplay with the emergence of "second economy".

⁴⁰⁵ Similar approach is present in connection with phenomena similar to market and competitive pressures.

⁴⁰⁶ The technology push in fact pushes for proprietary model and profit driven socio-economic model by talking about impersonalized technology and its mysterious power over human life.

⁴⁰⁷ The technology push is generated and carried out by interacting people and their characteristic cultural background since "ultimately only the individuals act" (Demeulenaere, 2009).

⁴⁰⁸ The continuous calls to strengthen deregulation and refraining from interference in self-regulating market mechanisms and tendencies are typical and rather dangerous representatives of such conscious obstruction and hindrance to create an adequate regulatory framework for the effective operation of market mechanisms. There are rather significant differences in perception of the tasks of market mechanisms, namely to optimize the fulfilment of individual and social needs versus optimizing profitability and shareholder value.

⁴⁰⁹ „The real dystopia is that, fearing the mass unemployment and psychological aimlessness it might bring, we stall the third industrial revolution. Instead we end up creating millions of low skilled jobs that do not need to exist” - points out Mason (2016) at possible devastating consequences on letting “technology push” to drive the emergence of second economy and - consequently – to shape the convergence of the macro-sectors.

⁴¹⁰ This constellation has a consciously unsustainable character in the environmental context. It generates tendencies that ultimately contribute to growing challenges connected to climate change, increasing frequency and intensity of natural cataclysms, which ultimately are anthropogenic. The increase of unsustainability follows exponential growth patterns by multiplying negative consequences of the further delay of due actions.

economy⁴¹¹ requires and promotes "...a shift toward a more open, collaborative system. A collaborative economy is more about the use of something than the ownership of it. People contribute information and ideas in an effort to find new ways to efficiently use existing technologies as well as drive innovation. Wealth, power, and influence are distributed among diverse individuals rather than controlled by a select few... People, not corporations, are at the center of the collaborative economy. The more people participating and the more diverse their areas of expertise, the better this model will work. And because there's so much diversity and openness, the collaborative economy is all about flexibility and experimentation, and, as a result, adaptation and evolution"- elaborates Chase (2012) on association-prone transformations constitutive of the emergence of a truly sharing economy.

Despite growing interest and popularity of sharing economy at level of narratives the practical experiences turn to be rather contradictory by requesting more cautious and nuanced approach. A "corporate variant" of sharing economy combines software applications with patterns where "innovation lies just as much in evading [labour] regulations as in developing new technology ...firms in the on-demand economy did not build their empires... They are running off your car, your apartment, your labor, your emotions, and importantly, your time. They are logistics companies that require participants to pay up to the middleman. We are turned into assets; this is the financialization of the everyday 3.0" - sum up Ehmsen and Scharenberg (2016) important characteristics of an "on-demand" service economy frequently claiming - rather misusing - the sharing economy 'title'. In this corporate, proprietary variant of sharing economy the platform owners and operators generate shared disadvantages for both actual providers and consumers. It combines loud marketing of often non-existing advantages to become "self-employed providers" with robust dis-empowering tendencies.

Nevertheless, the "...automation revolution is possible, but without a radical change in the social conventions surrounding work it will not happen ...to properly unleash the automation revolution we will probably need a combination of a universal basic income, paid out of taxation, and an aggressive reduction of the official working day" - emphasizes Mason (2016)⁴¹² the necessity following association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence.

⁴¹¹ "We've spent the last 200 years trying to create an economic system that values standardization and commoditization. The Industrial Revolution brought consistent products, consistent quality, and lower costs through mass production, and these are things we still value today. It seems, though, that we've taken this approach as far as we can, and have maxed out its benefits"(Chase, 2012).

⁴¹² "Typically, northern Europe is ahead of the curve: Sweden cut the working day to six hours, while Finland is experimenting with the idea of a basic citizen's income" – indicates Mason (2016).

The emergence of digital second economy should co-create “an online economy based in democracy and solidarity” (Ehmsen and Scharenberg, 2016) through self-empowerment and fundamental re-positioning of the civil society interplaying with public sector alterations.

Transformations in public sector - direct democratic developments

‘Would changes amplify association-prone tendencies in third institutional infrastructure?’ - it seems to be *the* focal question regarding ongoing and forthcoming alterations (re-)shaping public sector(s). The public sector as regulator and operator of “checks and balances” responsible to enforce the “rule of law” has major impact on (shapes of) convergence among macro-sectors generating the knowledge society’s emergence⁴¹³. Traditionally the public sector is seen as guardian of public good and domain of “homo politicus” logic. However, its elected leaders may also strive to “vote maximizing” by following perceived personal and sectorial self-interests and the market players create systematic pressures by robustly lobbying for ‘putting across’ their own (perceived) sectorial interests.

Through “...theoretical and practical subordination of Homo politicus to Homo economicus, the negative consequences of the weaknesses of the Homo economicus model are greatly magnified...The distortion introduced into economic life by this one-sided model of the human being is magnified in our society because economics has been erected into the queen of the sciences, and economic growth has become the dominant concern of society as a whole. In earlier generations, governments were supposed to think of their citizens in terms of Homo politicus. They were to govern according to the principles of political theory. Here, questions of justice played a role. But, today, governments ...act as servants of the economic order. Of course, the political order has always been, to a considerable degree, corrupted by the economic order; so the disproportionate power of wealth is nothing new...” - points out Cobb (2007:575)⁴¹⁴. In fact the growing wealth and political impact of ‘the markets’, primarily of the global economic players ‘exacerbate’ their dominance over ‘local players’ including public sectors, nation states, and supranational organizations similar to European Union with accelerating temp.

⁴¹³ It has to tackle growingly sophisticated institutional challenges similar to “second enclosure” (Boyle, 2005; Hess and Ostrom, 2007) or attempts to decouple value creation and democratic control (Streeck, 2014).

⁴¹⁴ The Homo economicus approach “tempted” and managed to create the dominance of “efficiency” and “competitiveness” almost in every (and any) segment of the human life and in all “sectors” of the society. In the public sector those attempts were also supported with broadly elaborated theories of “neo-con inspiration”.

Currently the public sector experiences increasing dual institutional isomorphic pressures (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983). The civil society through publicity and its players' growing activity may also generate enhanced effects besides the market players' systematic attempts to keep dominant role in affecting and shaping regulatory changes (Barton, 2011)⁴¹⁵. The pressures on public sectors are magnified due to decrease of its resources, including revenues like taxes, and declining readiness of citizens to participate in existing frames of representative democracy. These tendencies are aggravated by growing pressures from market players to decouple value creation and democratic control (Streeck, 2014).

This increasingly unfavourable context may make ineffective the public sectors' efforts to tackle dual challenges of mass-marginalization and mass-individualization although their interplay threatens with dangerous developments including "full scale" chaos and variants of "soft totalitarianism" (Nye, 1991). To generate mass-awareness and conscious counter-measures seems to be difficult, time-consuming, and "less rewarding" in short term for political players and decision makers. Since these challenges continue to grow they create the temptation to "balance" them by capitalizing on growing abundance and uniformity of (consumption of) information and entertainment. However, the "...enormous quantity of info-cult-edutainment...[that seem] compensate for the loss of quality, community and culture"(Vitányi, 2007) in reality imperceptibly 'upgrades' and extends growingly sophisticated forms of mass-estrangement and socio-economic tensions. This constellation generates self-enforcing loops, menaces to bring about growing chaos and generates 'temptations' and tendencies to produce variants of soft totalitarianism or autocracy (Nye, 1991; Vitányi, 2007) - as un-intended consequence.

The presence and effects of simultaneous empowering and disempowering tendencies appear through diverging and frequently contradictory practical developments - as horizontalization related inconsistencies of developments also indicate. The 'power networks' (Vitányi, 2007) horizontal 'emergence' exemplifies that the alienation of horizontalization is a practical danger. I.e. although horizontalization frequently is seen as per definition positive

⁴¹⁵ „For business leaders...the most consequential outcome of the crisis is the challenge to capitalism itself... the crisis and the surge in public antagonism it unleashed have exacerbated the friction between business and society. On top of anxiety about persistent problems such as rising income inequality, we now confront understandable anger over high unemployment, spiralling budget deficits, and a host of other issues. Governments feel pressure to reach ever deeper inside businesses to exert control and prevent another system-shattering event. ...None of these ideas or the specific proposals ...are new. What is new is the urgency of the challenge. Business leaders today face a choice: We can reform capitalism, or we can let capitalism be reformed for us, through political measures and the pressures of an angry public"- indicates Barton (2011) - the CEO of McKinsey & Company - challenges their "fellow managers" have to tackle by interplaying with public sector.

development, it does not deliver and guarantee association-prone dynamics automatically. The deployment of new technologies and e-Democracy solutions aim to increase effectiveness of democratic participation. However, inadequate enactment of new technologies may replace genuine participation with growingly sophisticated forms of “consumption of democratic services” and “playing democracy” by weakening and emptying democratic mechanisms - warns the head of e-Democracy unit of Finnish Ministry of Justice (100-20-23-5). The public sector potentially may catalyse and contribute to strengthen interplay of e-Democracy and new, effective solutions of direct democracy that may facilitate establish and operate innovative mechanisms of checks and balances through non-hierarchical patterns.

The empirical data from clusters of case-communities indicate that - despite the controversial context characterised by intertwined empowerment-disempowerment tendencies - the public sector has significant potential to capitalize on and to amplify the association-prone character of third institutional infrastructure⁴¹⁶. This in turn may operate as catalytic platform facilitating association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence enhancing the effectiveness of resourcing and extending the collective resource base - as following part discusses.

Third societal infrastructure as catalytic platform of macro-sectorial convergence

The three societal infrastructures interplay simultaneously with each other and also with macro-sectors of society⁴¹⁷ by affecting the dynamism of interferences among them. The market sectors' most visible global players exhibit powerful and spectacular impact on interplay among the three societal sectors. Their dominance is characterised by short-term focus that may generate significant tensions and contradictions and bring about challenges also at systemic level by weakening sustainability in multiple ways (Barton, 2011).

The third societal infrastructure despite its soft, institutional-relational character exhibits significant and increasing effects on interplay among macro sectors and patterns of their convergence, i.e. it may serve also as effective, catalytic *organizing platform*. Although it may exhibit and catalyse divergent and also controversial trends in both institutional and

⁴¹⁶ To put it another way: can public sector generate strong enough altered, association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures allowing re-shaping vivid interplay among the three social sectors?

⁴¹⁷ The first societal infrastructure is constructed and operated basically by market and public sector players. The Internet, the second societal infrastructure, is shaped mostly by market sector operators and civil society participants, while public sector players carry out growingly frequent and controversial efforts to regulate it. The business models (of operators) of first and second infrastructures are driven by and follow the logic of economic capital accumulation what often has robust commodifying side-effects (Sewell, 1992).

relational dimensions there are strengthening association-prone trends in third institutional infrastructure, which feedback with growing activity and increasing self- and social consciousness of the civil society (players). These trends are consistent with indications from literature about growing activity of civil society organizations and enhanced role of cooperation in relational context (Salamon et al., 2003; Nowak, 2006; Benkler, 2011; Rifkin, 2011; Reichel, 2012). Indeed the volunteer co-operators prefer and firmly follow association-prone institutional constellations in cognitive sense what may interplay with enhanced self- and social consciousness:

“A: ...human being and his developing process ...create...self-consciousness...

C: [that creates connection with]...grounding ...very deep, basic qualities of humanity”(100-20-4-5:760-764).

“A: ...the development of human being is to become more and more conscious... And it is self-consciousness that I can find one day. ...for instance, responsibility, it belongs there.

Q: Responsibility towards whom?

A: To another human being, to nature and everything that you meet.

Q: So you think that this responsibility is not only self-responsibility, but it is related with surrounding society and physical environment - it has social meaning?

A: ...because ...a human being is an individual ...our need...is freedom. But we are also social beings; we cannot develop without each other. And there is one kind of responsibility... It is not either or, either freedom or responsibility, it is all the time both”(100-20-4-5:361-371) - describe the expert from Silvia koti the interplay between self- and social consciousness characteristic for community members connected with growing awareness and acceptance of interdependence.

Association-prone institutional changes may take place primarily in cognitive, partly in normative, and occasionally in regulative aspects. The cooperation may become also a value and a norm by affecting the volunteers’ taken for granted perceptions shaping their daily recurrent activities (Perez, 2002)⁴¹⁸. The (re-)generation of abundant social capital and extended radius of trust (Fukuyama, 1999) may catalyse the cooperative interactions’ growing radius by facilitating empowerment and interplaying with emergence of networks and quasi-fields of self-upgrading communities.

The volunteers capitalize on and amplify the association-prone tendencies of third institutional infrastructure feed backing with growing primacy of social - instead of economic - capital, value, and wealth. This constellation facilitates their predisposition to collaborate including readiness to advance trust and provide unilateral contributions. The association-prone institutional settings of third societal infrastructure may serve as social capital

⁴¹⁸ In the market sector the domination-seeking competition plays similar role.

(Fukuyama, 1999) generating trust⁴¹⁹ and extending its radius even beyond boundaries of particular entities. I.e. it may catalyse growingly un-fragmented or seamless and inclusive character of collaboration, and may facilitate shifts to “cooperation without boundaries” by bringing about broader association-prone dynamism⁴²⁰. Similar trends may have growing significance for shaping primary patterns and dynamics of the macro-sectorial convergence.

‘Concurrent’ patterns of macro-sectorial convergence

The empirical data and previous research demonstrate the simultaneous presence of both (i) association-prone and empowering and (ii) competition focused and dominance-seeking patterns of macro-sectorial convergence. Market and public sector entities (re-) produce dominance-seeking competition by simultaneously enacting robust hierarchies and (often) invisible power networks (Vitányi, 2007). This constellation focusing on competitive advantage promotes dominance-seeking trends bringing about increasing socio-economic and environmental tensions. These dominance-seeking competition focused patterns of macro-sectorial convergence are driven by the logic of capital accumulation simultaneously generating powerful commodifying, alienating pressures and tendencies (Sewell, 1992). I.e. the market and public sector players continue to generate patterns of second economy and macro-sectorial convergence bringing about growing socio-economic and environmental tensions - tendencies that may undermine long-term stability and systemic sustainability (Barton, 2011).

The civil society players in turn follow growing primacy of non-zero sum approach and requirements of interdependence. In other words, civil society players, by enacting growingly association-prone character of third institutional infrastructure, may offer patterns focusing on co-creation of social value and mutual, associational advantage. The acknowledgement of interdependence feeds back with acceptance of practical asymmetries and asynchrony of contributions and responsibilities. This may facilitate transposing time, creative energies and resources liberated from wage work due to emergence of digital second economy into diverse

⁴¹⁹ The trust is “...epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself”(Fukuyama, 1999:1).

⁴²⁰ Such extended radius of trust may feedback with networking patterns of value creation, resourcing, and power, what in turn may generate new capabilities allowing enhancing the effectiveness of resourcing. The improving resourcing may interplay with emergence of a quasi-field of self-upgrading communities possessing association-prone dynamism. Since these networked patterns follow the logic of social - rather than economic - capital accumulation, they may facilitate empowerment by overcoming and preventing mass-alienation tendencies.

volunteer activities carried out in civil society organization by generating civil work and economy. They divert away - capitalise on and smoothly mobilize - growing part of human creative energies 'unused' by wage work what may help to improve shared collective life quality and contribute also to fulfil requirements of genuine interdependence.

Attributes of macro-sectorial convergence	Association-prone	Competition focused
Capital accumulation logic	Social capital accumulation	Economic capital accumulation
Character of institutional dimension	Dual primacy of non-zero sum approach and interdependence	Twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view
Attitude	Collaboration-seeking	Dominance-seeking
Social division of labour	Pluralistic, non-wage work focused	Wage work focused
Focus of advantage	Associational advantage	Competitive advantage
Focal type of work	Non-wage work	Wage work
Character of work	Passionate and sharing co-creation	Job for earning a living
Economic aim	Life quality improvements	Profit(ability) optimization
Role of civil society	Increasing significance compared to market and public sectors	Subordinated' - "market versus state" dichotomy enhancement
Character of isomorphism	Multi-directional institutional isomorphism	Unidirectional institutional isomorphism
Character of dynamics	Increasing of association-prone dynamics	Increasing socio-economic misbalances and tensions
Outcome of convergence	Increasingly 'managed' interdependence	Increasing unsustainability

Table 10: Association-prone vs. competition-focused macro-sectorial convergence

Convergence as resultant of diverging tendencies

The market and increasingly also the public sector aim to achieve and maintain competitive advantage, while civil society focuses on creating associational advantage (Table N 10). The market and public sectors' activities are driven by logic of economic capital accumulation generating commodifying (side-)effects (Sewell, 1992). Civil society organizations are characterized by collaborative dynamism that interplays with empowering logic of social capital accumulation. The institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) proves to be capable to generate multidirectional alterations⁴²¹, i.e. it may strengthen also social capital accumulation logic and increasingly association-prone tendencies of third institutional infrastructure not only the other way around. Such association-prone constellation may affect

⁴²¹ Traditionally, institutional isomorphism is perceived as a mechanism through which institutional-relational effects characteristic of market sector (organizations) impact unilaterally both public sector and civil society organizations. In fact, players of market and public sectors may also follow altering pattern(s) that are growingly conducive to changes shaped by civil society organizations, as sharing transformation cluster plausibly indicates.

and (re-)shape characteristic patterns of second economy and macro-sectorial convergence allowing long-term stability and sustainability.

Hence diverging and even diametrically opposing tendencies may be simultaneously present and may affect (patterns of) convergence; moreover, in practice their multidimensional interplay generates and constitutes macro-sectorial convergence⁴²². I.e. the convergence of macro-sectors takes place as *interplay among diverging alterations* in various dimensions and may emerge as dynamic resultant or outcome of transforming and interplaying structuration processes⁴²³. A new, dominant trajectory and ‘converged’ dynamism of knowledge society, consequently, may emerge as dynamic resultant of often diverging and even contradicting change dynamics⁴²⁴ that structuration processes, their feed backing changes and transformations generate in various dimensions. These changes simultaneously may also “re-position” the macro-sectors.

Association-prone macro-sectorial convergence and societal kinetics

The macro-sectorial convergence, its resultant pattern (Figure N 8) unfolds through feed backing changes in all three major sectors of society and in the three societal infrastructures by affecting simultaneously the social division of labour and ultimately the characteristic societal dynamism. Consequently, an association- and interdependence-prone pattern of macro-sectorial convergence shaped by and following the social capital accumulation logic may emerge as dynamic resultant of diverging and opposing trends - rather than due to straight line changes⁴²⁵. Its potential association-prone pattern and dynamism interplay with enhanced self-empowerment of the civil society that may capitalize on the interplay of growingly sophisticated forms of large-scale collaboration and association-prone character of third institutional infrastructure.

⁴²² Changes take place like re-laying of a large, dynamic mosaic through multitude of parallel, distributed and feed backing actions ultimately converging into a new layout, and co-generating a renewed macro-shape.

⁴²³ These changes take place like re-laying a large, dynamic mosaic through multitude of parallel, distributed and feed backing actions ultimately converging into new layout, and co-generating a renewed macro-shape.

⁴²⁴ The market and increasingly also the public sector aim to achieve and maintain competitive advantage, while civil society focuses on creating associational advantage. The market and public sectors’ activities are driven by the logic of economic capital accumulation (Sewell, 1992) generating commodifying (side) effects. Civil society organizations are characterized by collaborative dynamism that interplays with an empowering logic of social capital accumulation.

⁴²⁵ It is the aggregation, the outcome of diverse, frequently asymmetric and asynchronous changes, apparently unrelated to or competing transformational trends; controversial but feed backing transformations taking place simultaneously in all three major social sectors.

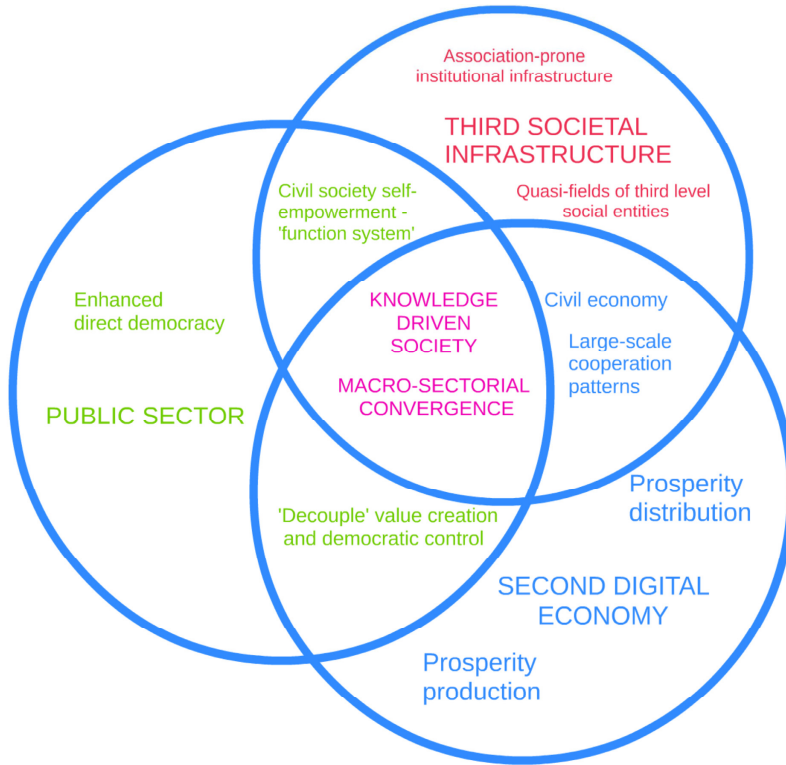


Figure 8: Components of macro-sectorial convergence

The broadening of the civil society's self-organizing activities (Salamon et al., 2003) is intertwined with and amplifies association-prone tendencies⁴²⁶ in various dimensions including the third institutional infrastructure. The market and public sectors promote globally their characteristic, dominance-seeking competition-driven, colliding relational and institutional tendencies⁴²⁷. Whether the growing activity of civil society players may amplify increasingly association-prone character of third infrastructure and ease or even overcome commodifying effects, pressures, and trends that market and partly public sectors generate remains to be seen. This depends at significant degree from the capacity of the third societal infrastructure to catalyse broader multidimensional association-prone dynamics by facilitating the effectiveness of resourcing and the extension of collective resource base.

⁴²⁶ The public sectors' efforts to establish legal frameworks facilitating sustainability or the market sector players attempts to demonstrate corporate social responsibility by acting as "good corporate citizens" may contribute to association-prone tendencies constitutive of the emergence of third societal infrastructure.

⁴²⁷ In institutional dimension the twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view remain characteristic together with competition focused relational tendencies in public and market sectors. Nevertheless also in these sectors appear association-prone trends even though at rather controversial manner.

The thesis assumes that the patterns enabling improved effectiveness of collective resourcing have higher probability of being repeated and sustain. It may allow simultaneously ‘breaking the path’ and (re-)shaping patterns of macro-sectorial convergence, i.e. generating its new trajectory. Various processes, events, configurations may affect and improve the collective resourcing at diverse manner and degree and those which are capable to increase its effectiveness may have higher probability to recursively reappear by affecting and reshaping convergence⁴²⁸. Consequently, the potential or capacity to affect the *effectiveness of resource enactment* may operate as “*selective mechanism*” also among particular tendencies of macro-sectorial convergence.

An increasingly association-prone dynamism may be the ‘aggregate’ of multidimensional changes that affect among other institutional, relational, power and especially resource relations. The association-prone changes enable to increase resultant dynamism and prevent continuous collisions. I.e. tendencies that may bring about growingly associational and lateral character of powers and facilitate the *additive* character of resourcing may have higher probability to sustain by generating qualitative shifts. By contrast, colliding patterns where interacting powers mutually diminish one another and the collective resource base may gradually become overshadowed and disappear with growing probability.

These trends may be constitutive and generic of a broadening associational societal dynamism facilitating the cooperation’s transformation, elevation into new, higher dimension through networking self-upgrading of civil society entities by feed backing with extension and upgrading of the societal resource base (Table N 11).

The patterns of cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) possessing capacity to improve the effectiveness of resourcing may (re-)appear as interpretative schemas of signification. Similarly mimetic patterns, taken for granted perceptions, and norms may appear more frequently as moral rules of legitimation provided they facilitate increased effectiveness of collective resourcing. Consequently, the stronger the association-prone reconfiguration of structuration may become the more they can promote the effectiveness of collective

⁴²⁸ To put it in another way: particular constellations that interacting agents recognize as beneficial, providing mutual advantage for the participants may have increased probability to ‘become selected’ and carried out recursively by affecting also macro-sectorial convergence.

resourcing⁴²⁹ and in turn the more advantageous the collaboration may become for all participants. I.e. their interplay may be mutually catalytic by forming self-enforcing feedback loops.

‘Deliverables’ of macro-sectorial convergence	Association-prone pattern	Competition for domination
Growth pattern	Inclusive growth	Exclusive growth
Sharing pattern	Distributed, shared prosperity	Shared un-sustainability
Second digital economy	Civil, sharing economy	Proprietary, 'on-demand' economy
Economic outcome	Self-organizing mass enactment of creativity as "generic essence" of human beings	'Jobless growth'
Resourcing outcome	Extended and upgraded collective resourcing	Extended and upgraded collective costs
Soft resource managing	Non-depletable and non-rivalrous, self-multiplying soft energies	Second enclosure: re-transformation of soft resources into depletable and rivalrous
Social division of labour	Non-wage work focused social division of labour	Extension of wage work into new fields of life
Democratic processes	Increasing direct democracy	De-coupling' value creation and democratic control, power networks
Structuration	Collaboration-focused structuration	Dominance driven structuration
Relational dynamism	New dialectics of cooperation	Enhanced dominance of competition
Third societal infrastructure	Growing association-prone institutional infrastructure and networking self-upgrading of civil society (players)	Dominance-logic driven institutional infrastructure and “resource-less” civil society (players)
Civil society role	Function-system of society	Tertiary, resource-less, dependent
Social trends	Society as association of volunteer co-creators	Fluctuation, drifting between 'soft' totalitarianism and full scale chaos
Outcome	Growing awareness of associational advantage	Growing in-equality and un-sustainability
Alienation trends	Mass un-alienation trends	Enhanced mass-alienation

Table 11: ‘Deliverables’ of diverse trends of macro-sectorial convergence

Consequently, the dynamics of structuration - ultimately constituting the entire society as Giddens (1984) indicates - and the resultant patterns of the macro-sectors’ approximation interplay and mutually shape each other. Furthermore, the more association-prone the patterns of structuration and macro-sectorial convergence may become the stronger associational

⁴²⁹ The more favourable is the outcome - the reciprocity of interactions and sharing of resources - which the collaboration may provide through altered signification and legitimation.

societal kinetics they may generate and more emancipating praxis may create - as the next sections explain.

Associational societal kinetics as overcome of mass-alienation

Although the (abundance of) of social capital exhibits a necessary precondition for successful cooperation that may generate also its exclusive and fragmented pattern plenty of negative (social) externalities (Fukuyama, 1999). The group solidarity may (re-)produce cohesion and collaboration internally while fuelling “external” competition bringing about collisions and conflicts. I.e. similar patterns generate collisions with - and even hostility toward - other groups and entities due to competing, rather colliding or conflicting relational dynamism that the dominance-seeking competition may generate.

Similarly, due to a macro-sectorial convergence following dominance-seeking, competitive patterns the (interplay among) market and public sectors and the civil society may become less complementary, growingly conflicting and even antagonistic - i.e. may generate and amplify alienation also at macro-level. The alienation is rather broad, elusive and debated concept⁴³⁰. “At the least since the time of Marx and down to the present, observers have pointed to the debilitating consequences of organizational involvement, and in particular, employment, for individual participants. ...These destructive processes are often summarized under the concept of alienation - a concept with enough facets and varied interpretations to serve as an adequate umbrella under which to gather a quite varied set of criticisms” - point out Scott and Davis (2007:173). Seeman (1959; 1975) describes the multifaceted character of alienation by identifying its six varieties and aspects:

- Powerlessness - the sense of little control over events;
- Meaninglessness - the sense of incomprehensibility of personal and social affairs;
- Normlessness - use of socially unapproved means for achievement of goals;
- Cultural estrangement - rejection of commonly held values and standards;
- Self-estrangement - engagement in activities that are not intrinsically rewarding;
- Social isolation - the sense of exclusion or rejection.

The thesis assumes that the estrangement is a personal aspect of the alienation, and that both mass alienation and personal estrangement are related to underlying institutional primacy of

⁴³⁰ The essentially sociological concept of alienation is developed among others by Emile Durkheim (1951, 1984), Eric Fromm (1941,1955); Georg Simmel (1950,1971); Kalekin-Fishman (1998); Karl Marx (1846,1867); Melvin Seeman (1959).

the zero-sum paradigm intertwined with the resource-scarcity view⁴³¹. This institutional setup feeds back with group solidarity and the fragmented and exclusive character of cooperation⁴³² generating its (self-)alienation, i.e. the cooperation paradox. This constellation interplays with the domination-seeking attitude, the perception and exercising of power as domination and control. This institutional-relational constellation may create group solidarity or internal cohesion at the expense of separation from, collisions with, or even hostility toward ‘other’ individuals or groups. It may not only shorten the radius of trust, but even deform it into radius of distrust (Fukuyama, 1999) by bringing about a declining collective resource base and mutual disempowerment through alienation and estrangement.

Other characteristic features of mass-alienating tendencies are the growingly sophisticated patterns of second enclosure (Boyle, 2005; Hess and Ostrom, 2009) aiming to re-transform knowledge, creativity, and the soft resources in general into rivalrous and depletable; i.e. suppress them to the institutional twin-dominance and self-fulfilling prophecy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. These trends aim to overcome and prevent the transformation of knowledge and the focal, ‘soft’ resources into non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28). Such “second enclosure” is intertwined with wage work focused patterns of social division of labour and their interplay is a major source of robust alienating trends. These efforts want that the emerging knowledge economy remains the domain of the proprietary model and wage work focused social division of labour. The market sector players by emphasizing the slogan of free competition in fact try to exclude the competing players and also the economic solutions characteristic for the genuine sharing economy. I.e. they (re-) implement a well-established, multiple times tried and tested strategy (Schneiberg, 2006) of beating the competitors using “non-economic” methods, primarily by lobbying an “appropriate” regulation. These dominance-seeking “competitive” tendencies may generate and spread increasingly sophisticated mass-alienation and personal estrangement tendencies in multiple dimensions.

However, the civil society’s self-empowerment may feedback with and catalyses the emergence of an associational societal kinetics allowing overcoming and preventing mass-

⁴³¹ The institutional primacy of the zero-sum paradigm and the resource scarcity view appears through different intermediary mechanisms and in various degrees in their particular facets.

⁴³² The institutional twin-dominance of the zero-sum paradigm and the resource scarcity view brings about a dominance-seeking attitude. The dominance over the maximum share of existing resources is the sole variant since the resources are perceived as per definition scarce therefore cooperative efforts to increase them are seen as meaningless.

alienation trends and pressures. Such kinetics may appear through the interplay among the association-prone re-configuration of structuration; the altered, horizontal, sharing and shared character of ‘power with’ (Kreisberg, 1992); the new dialectics of inclusive and seamless cooperation; and the non-wage-work focused social division of labour. Un-alienating macro-trends may capitalize on the growingly association-prone character of the third societal infrastructure feed backing with and emerging through the aggregation of change processes unfolding at local and personal levels - as next sections indicate.

Associational societal kinetics: overcoming alienation through new dialectics of cooperation

Although second degree communities may serve as - at least partial and temporal - shelters against mass-estrangement pressures in the industrial information society the individuals in most time may feel to remain alone in front of growing complexity of labyrinthine, subtle social relations (Vitányi, 2007). The mass-societies diminish - even may decompose - autonomy by weakening the personal capacity to create and maintain one’s individual Self. The wish to overcome personal estrangement feed backing with the mass-alienation tendencies may generate a growing claim and the Internet based technologies offer enabling technical background to upgrade cooperation - argues Vitányi (2007). The volunteer co-operators through their collaborative efforts may gain growing awareness⁴³³ of their deep substance of being “person in community” (Whitehead, 1929, Cobb, 2007, Nonaka et al., 2008) and belonging to the global human community⁴³⁴. Such universality of community perception interplays with its powerful transformational, even ‘transcendental’ character since the “...transcendence is the pseudonym of community, the totality of collective relations”(Vitányi, 2007:111).

Bottom up overcome of alienation

Since civil society players currently possess low visibility, they (may) seem to have little or limited potential to affect and shape either the macro-sectorial convergence or the emerging second economy - especially compared to the increasingly powerful global economic players. Nevertheless, volunteers during their recurrent everyday activities at their home, workplace or local community may co-create their capability of social agency also through networking. I.e.

⁴³³ This awareness may be emerging, i.e. for rather long time may remain tacit or partial.

⁴³⁴ “A: ...you can feel that you are the part of the community, and that is international. Before it was a village or a town, but now you’re going to have a community that has members all around the world. ...it...has happened more at the organizational level first, but now it’s also changing in the whole civil society”(100-20-6-5: :43-49) - points out at the extension of the radius of personal connectedness the former coordinator of the Finish knowledge society program.

by “going after the small picture” (Giddens, 1984, 1998) they may generate also broader transformational tendencies. By capitalizing on self-communication (Castells, 2009) they may exercise the Habermasian “dialogic democracy”, where differences are settled, and practices ordered through discourse rather than violence or commands of authority - as Giddens (1984) indicates. These tendencies are constitutive of the “democratisation of democracy” (Giddens, 1998); i.e. enable and catalyse the enhancement of the participative democracy. This (self-) empowering trend may capitalize on improved connectivity facilitating networking also among members of diverse civil society entities⁴³⁵ by allowing also periodical shifts among various (on-line) communities relevant to one’s actual life situation⁴³⁶.

Consequently, the civil society players by interacting locally may simultaneously contribute to the current global participative revolution (Salamon et al., 2003) and carry out strengthening social agency. The individual interactions may possess growingly local-global character. They may interplay with networking self-upgrading of the civil society entities by enabling to transpose and extend association-prone local dynamics across social fields by facilitating their scale-free, fractal-like extension (Plowman et al., 2007). The civil society organizations’ self-upgrading into “third level” social entities (Vitányi, 2007) through their networking may also serve as two-way micro-macro bridge connecting local interactions and large-scale patterns of society (Granovetter, 1973)⁴³⁷. I.e. this dynamic constellation may capitalize on and amplify the “strength of weak ties”(Granovetter, 1973). These trends may feedback also with the growingly association-prone character of the third societal infrastructure and the association-prone re-configuration of the structuration by catalysing to spread cooperative dynamics across fields and its aggregation into associational societal kinetics.

The feedbacks among the growingly association-prone character of third institutional infrastructure and the emerging webs of “third order” (Vitányi, 2007) civil society entities

⁴³⁵ “...The healthy participant is one who is “partially involved” in many diverse and competing organizations as well as in the wider institutions comprising a civil society (Bellah et al., 1991)”(Scott and Davis, 2007:177).

⁴³⁶ “A: ... you are handicapped today if you aren’t comfortable with the computer and the web...[allowing to]...systematically participate in certain groups, which are ...important for your life for certain reasons. If you’re having a child ...you are participating in daddy’s forum ...get...and share information, which helps you. It strengthens you ...in hard to handle situation...in your work life ...should I skip this job and go somewhere else? ...it helps either to build you certainty - should I do it or not, then if yes, which direction should I go?”(100-20-22-5:60-70) - explains the deputy-major of the Turku Archipelago promoting “fibered vision” the advantage to participate in various social networks relevant for one’s age and life situation.

⁴³⁷Such micro-macro bridges enable“...interaction in small groups aggregates...becomes translated into large-scale patterns, and that these, in turn, feed back into small groups...”(Granovetter, 1973:1360).

may catalyse the civil society's self-empowerment or transformation into the "community of communities"⁴³⁸. The self-empowering civil society may progressively replace "hierarchies and markets" at level of macro-institutions - as Farrell and Shalizi (2012)⁴³⁹ argue - and become focal player of a collaborative, networked and sharing Next Society (Reichel, 2012) - a knowledge-driven and sharing civil society characterized by associational kinetics.

The volunteer co-operators may create and amplify association-prone dynamism through generating the interplay between the inclusive and un-fragmented cooperation and the altered, participative competition also in environments characterised by dominance-seeking competition and zero-sum institutional approach. I.e. they may bring cooperation into competitive environments (Benkler, 2011). The current industrial information society erects 'traditional' competition into the key aspect and a hallmark of the society by extending it to more and more aspects of daily life (Cobb, 2007). The transformation toward a knowledge economy may capitalize on altered, association-prone and participative tendencies of the competition feed backing with the growing significance and accelerating spread of non-wage work.

Non-wage work as passionate, sharing co-creation

The mass alienation is continuously (re-)generated by the interplay among the wage work focused social division of labour following the commodifying logic of economic capital accumulation (Sewell, 1992), and the underlying institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. The wage work plays fundamental - in a certain sense an ultimate - driving role in mass alienation tendencies⁴⁴⁰. "As a consequence [the]...workers become alienated from both self and others in the work setting" - points out Scott and Davis (2007:173) at the estranging consequences of the (self-)alienation of the work. As the technology push driven emergence of the digital second economy amplifies "jobless growth"

⁴³⁸ The same trend feeds back with the particular entities' self-upgrading into "communities of empowered".

⁴³⁹ (Cognitive) democracy serves to find solutions to complex social problems more effectively than other macro-institutions such as hierarchies or markets - point out Farrell and Shalizi (2012). They indicate that the relative equality of power and distributed (access to) resources is "more likely to converge on solutions with broad social benefits" (Farrell and Shalizi, 2012:6).

⁴⁴⁰ Although in historical prospective, wage work of personally, legally free persons exhibited a significant step forward in order to overcome mass-alienation - compared to the feudal forms of personal and legal dependence - it generates increasingly sophisticated and "innovative" forms of disempowerment and estrangement.

tendencies it becomes more visible how feedbacks among lack of jobs and promotion of wage work as the “sole model” generate and amplify robust mass alienation tendencies⁴⁴¹.

The diverse innovative patterns of non-wage work similar to peer and open source production exemplify that the (re-) transformation of the work into volunteer, passionate and sharing co-creation may facilitate to overcome and prevent both the mass-alienation and the personal estrangement. The intrinsically motivated, non-wage work interplays with and is indivisible from institutional, relational and structural changes allowing for creating more healthy relations and conditions in four important aspect: between themselves and the product, themselves and the activity, themselves and others, and between themselves and the human species (Chance, 2005:13)⁴⁴². Such multidimensional changes may ‘positively abolish’⁴⁴³ distinction between leisure and work by enabling to be “...an active, creative and fully autonomous person (Kane, 2000)” (Chance, 2005). In other words, the non-wage work feeds back with the empowering individuation as the communities demonstrate. Switches allowing un-alienating transformation of work carrying out processes of individual self-creation may catalyse further changes constitutive of overcoming of mass-alienation in various dimensions.

Non-wage work driven social division of labour

Civil society organizations that enable to transform work into passionate and sharing co-creation may facilitate the smooth transposition of the growing creative resources that the emerging second economy (Arthur, 2011) releases by decreasing (the required volume of) wage work. The association-prone institutional(-relational) changes may affect the patterns of the technology enactment (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000). It may enable (re-)shaping the robust technological transformations underway that by boosting productivity may facilitate the

⁴⁴¹ “Workers may be alienated from the *product* of their labor. Labor gives value to the objects it creates, but as a worker loses control over his product, it comes to exist “independently, outside himself, and alien to him and...stands opposed to him as an autonomous power” (Marx, 1963 trans:122-23). Workers can also be alienated from the *process* of production. This occurs to the extent that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature, and that, consequently, he does not fulfill himself in work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased...His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labor (Marx, 1963 trans:124-25)” - sum up the most salient work-related aspects of alienation Scott and Davis (2007:173).

⁴⁴² The Hacker Ethic, by orientating all life activities around an un-alienating maxim and by consciously rejecting division between work and leisure offer opportunity to actively realise human potential. The (i) un-alienated and un-alienating work unfolds as pleasure, play and fun, (ii) the self-organising offers overall operational autonomy exhibiting positive alternative for practical opposition to top-down management of work - argues Chance (2005).

⁴⁴³ The positive abolishment is qualitatively different from the proprietary models’ robust trend on the wage-work’s systematic intensification and extension beyond “official work time” by intruding in and occupying the employees’ leisure-time. The parallel spread of the on-demand economy ‘successfully’ re-invents XIX Century employment technics and conditions (Ehmsen and Scharenberg, 2016; Scholz, 2016).

improved mass-fulfilment of the basic needs (Maslow, 1943). I.e. a crucial transformational impact of the civil society (organizations) is the generation of the interplay between the new dialectics of cooperation and the non-wage work. It may affect at powerful manner and transform the social division of labour⁴⁴⁴. I.e. the association-prone constellations are interlinked with the broadening spread of non-wage work constitutive of the un-estranging transformation of the social division of labour. Consequently, the current “associational revolution” (Salamon et al., 2003) may feedback with self-organizing emergence of large scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011) and catalyse a non-wage work focused pattern of the social division of labour.

“In the “Next Society” that we can observe emerging after modernity today, civil society as a system can perform a paradoxical operation for this society: it can blur the boundaries within society that functional differentiation created...”- points out Reichel (2012:70). Consequently, the self-empowerment of the civil society simultaneously may facilitate to transform the social division of labour by focusing on non-wage-work. It may help simultaneously “to blur” the divisive patterns among the three converging societal macro-sectors. The generation of a non-wage work focused pattern of social division of labour may facilitate to overcome alienation pressures and estrangement trends. Broader societal transformation(s) that simultaneously facilitate participative and self-organizing, democratic tendencies⁴⁴⁵ may enable to overcome also the alienation of the horizontalization.

Overcome the alienation of horizontalization – power networks

The mass-alienation has a tendency to growing sophistication. Networks and horizontalization are perceived generally as per definition un-alienating tendencies, at least compared to traditional power hierarchies. However, the horizontalization may be self-alienated by power-networks (Vitányi, 2007), which are sources of robust and broad alienating tendencies. Followers of the dominance-seeking attitude may ‘capture’ network nodes located on critical pathways by using them at the same manner as ‘high positions’ in the vertical systems, i.e. by (re-) building hierarchies ‘horizontally’. Through controlling critical nodes in networks one may re-establish domination; control and allocate resources; and authorize the activity (including the resource access) of other individuals by (re-) transforming them into estranged

⁴⁴⁴ The third societal infrastructure may affect and shape the primary patterns of second digital economy what feeds back with shaping macro-sectorial convergence and with intertwined self-empowerment of civil society.

⁴⁴⁵ By “...heading toward the civil society ...the civil work may create the ‘culture of creativity’ [and] horizontal democracy...”(Vitányi, 2007:177).

“units of the human resources”. The ‘horizontal emergence’ of such power networks’ (Vitányi, 2007) interplays with (i) the zero-sum power-perception focusing on domination and control; the institutional twin-dominance of (ii) the zero-sum paradigm; and (iii) the resource scarcity view; (iv.) the dominance-seeking attitude; and (v.) the colliding relational dynamism.

This approach simultaneously generates the (self-)alienation of the horizontalization and the domination-driven patterns of structuration, i.e. (re-)installs the domination as ‘lead-structure’. In power-networks the dominance-seeking tendencies distort and deform horizontalization. They re-transform the networks into domains and amplifiers of (mass-) estrangement tendencies. They misuse horizontalization by re-establishing both (i) estranging hierarchies ‘emerging horizontally’ and (ii) fragmented and exclusive collaboration directed against other individuals and collectives; i.e. by re-generating and amplifying the cooperation paradox⁴⁴⁶. The accelerating proliferation of the various networks makes the power networks even more indiscernible. “The individual is left alone in front of an ‘impenetrable forest’ of socio-economic networks...[and due to] the intensification of individualization⁴⁴⁷ has to confront alone with risks” - describes Vitányi (2007) the mass-alienating effects of the power-networks. Since they are less-visible and recognizable - more ‘tacit’ - than the “traditional”, vertical hierarchies, the power networks are robust sources of enhanced forms of disempowerment and estrangement at mass level by generating exclusion, loneliness, and (the perception of) enhanced risk (Beck, 1992).

The growing and more effective forms of mass-participation; the representative and direct patterns of democracy interplaying with association-prone trends; the new dialectics of cooperation; and the association-prone reconfiguration of the structuration may facilitate to identify and overcome power-networks and prevent their re-emergence. The association-prone reconfiguration of structuration enables collaboration to replace and prevent domination (as lead structure) and catalyses shared and sharing, horizontal and integrative patterns of ‘power with’ (Kreisberg, 1992). I.e. it enables to overcome - to perceive and exercise - power

⁴⁴⁶ The consequent primacy of the competitive approach in comparison to openly conflicting or confronting relational dynamism means a genuinely significant shift to more peaceful and humane behaviour at least “inside” the given “partial unit”. Nevertheless, the readiness and practice of open conflict and confrontations, including “non-peaceful”, aggressive implementation of coercion externally are inherent characteristics of the “fragmented units” or “systems”. Potentially, they may also exercise similar approaches internally.

⁴⁴⁷ The power networks replace with de-empowering individualization the empowering individuation taking place in civil society organizations.

as domination and control over ‘others’ who are seen as ‘masses’. Such mass-empowerment presupposes and catalyses the association-prone convergence among the macro-sectors and the non-wage-work focused patterns of the social division of labour. These developments are connected with and driven by improved effectiveness of resourcing and expansion of the collective resource base. The growing awareness of the improved effectiveness of resourcing may serve as rational and motivator of multidimensional association-prone transformations. These in turn may help to overcome diverse forms and sources of mass-alienation - including the self-alienation of growing horizontalization tendencies. These feed backing multidimensional changes may aggregate and reshape the characteristics of the social fields.

Changes in field characteristics

The social fields can be classified into four “ideal-types” (Max Weber, 1949) upon typical patterns of their relational dynamism such as: (i) conflicting, (ii) competitive, (iii) co-opetitive (Brandenburger and Nalebuff, 1996), and (iv.) associational or additive (Table N 12). The associational or additive and the co-opetitive character of the social dynamism exclude the dominance or the sustained presence of conflicts or competitive collisions although they may (re-)appear locally and temporally.

The actual patterns of social dynamics may emerge as resultants of multiple feed backing processes and trends. They may be the unintentional outcomes rather than outputs, which straight-line efforts and developments generate. I.e. the observable field dynamics may be perceived as dynamic resultant of feedbacks among the ideal-type patterns. The growing primacy of an association-prone kinetics across fields could be a qualitative shift, which may emerge also as outcome of interplay among diverse and competing, occasionally also controversial dynamics⁴⁴⁸. I.e. the emergence of an associational societal kinetics may have non-linear, feed backing, asynchronous and asymmetric character that may appear through aggregation of multi-dimensional, often diverging or colliding changes.

The growingly association-prone character of the third institutional infrastructure may operate as soft, organizing platform enabling and catalysing the self-organizing emergence of association-prone dynamics as outcome of multitudes of processes and trends. I.e. the feed backing multidimensional change processes’ horizontal interplay may generate resultants with increasingly association-prone character.

⁴⁴⁸ Its emergence is dynamic resultant of controversial tendencies similarly to macro-sectorial convergence.

	Industrial era Information society	T r a n s i t i o n		Collaborative era Knowledge-driven, networked society
Focal player	Market (driven)	Communities	Networks of self-upgrading communities	Civil society
Relational dynamism	Confronting	Colliding competing	Co-opetitive transformational	Associational additive
Power relations	a --> <-- b	a ...--> b....-->	a--> b-->	a...-->-->b
Win/Lose	Lose-lose	Decreasing	Increasing	Multiple-win
Resultant vector	Descending	Unchanged	Ascending	Additive
Resource base /perception	Scarce /limited	'Framed' /Limited	Expandable	Self-multipliable
Capability	Attribute of workforce	Personality treat	Symbiotic co-creation	Collaborative multiplication
Capital	Economic	Economic	Social	Social capital /Knowledge
Resource base	Zero sum	Expandable	Expand-upgrade	Multipliable
Competition characteristics	Exploitative, profit optimization	Solution optimization	Co-creative enhanced need fulfilment	Explorative /co-creative
Philosophy	Deterministic	Adaptive - Isomorphism	Enabling - Empowering /Cooperative	Transformational
Organization	Vertical hierarchies power networks	Continuous self-organizing	Networking self-upgrading	Mass self-organizing
Human perception	Homo economicus	Homo faber	Homo ludens	Homo communitas / Person-in-community
Attitude	Dominance seeking	Collaborative	Association-seeking	Association-seeking
Driven by	Competition	Higher-level needs	Social consciousness	Biosphere consciousness Interdependence
Value base	Economic value /financial profit	Re-couple economic-social	Social value	Social value
Typical unit	Firm / for profit	Community non-profit	Community networks	Human community
Leadership	Power-game players	Enabling	Enabling	Multiple-win driven
Resource management	Efficiency	Effectiveness	Sharing	Resource multiplication
Vision - character	Domination	Problem solving	Need fulfilment	Vision co-creation
Mission	Profit optimization	Cooperation to change fields	Social consciousness	Biosphere consciousness
Field dynamism	Competitive - confrontational	Co-opetitive	Transformational	Associational

Table 12: Changing field characteristics in various eras

This horizontal interplay may be driven and shaped by the re-emergence of the particular process constellations bringing about growing effectiveness of resourcing operating as

selection criteria and mechanism. Such association-prone trends do not request centralized planning and decision making, either hierarchy with power to decide which one to be continued or terminated - and even less to formally enforce and sanction such shifts. The natural cooperation (Nowak, 2006) and mutual aid (Kropotkin, 1902, 1972) may unleash the cooperation trap (Csányi, 1989) that may catalyse patterns improving the effectiveness of collective resourcing.

The association-prone societal dynamics may emerge as outcome of multi-dimensional feed backing transformations. These unfold in real domain, affect actual domain, and may feedback with the presence of local and temporal collisions remaining observable in empirical domain. Consequently, the association-prone, harmonizing tendencies following additive - instead of colliding and decreasing - outcomes may appear as resultants of approaches and tendencies with divergent outputs. The increasingly association-prone character of the resultant societal dynamics may be a derived, longer-term envelope curve or 'cover trend'. I.e. the underlying dynamics still may follow the 'traditional' economic logic and perceptions constitutive of the various macro-sectors and the "resultant" dynamics' association-prone character may emerge and sustain as an envelope curve appearing in the real domain.

An important catalyst and driver of the emergence of such envelope curve or cover trend may be the increasingly association-prone character of the third societal infrastructure. It may serve as robust catalyst, soft organizing platform facilitating the interplay between association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence and enhanced effectiveness of collective resourcing. These changes and their aggregation may unfold through association-prone (re-) configuration of structuration at macro-level ultimately carrying out the constitution of society (Giddens, 1984).

Association-prone reconfiguration of structuration

The association-prone re-configuration of the structuration allows the collaboration replacing domination as 'lead structure' by simultaneously affecting signification and legitimation. These changes are intertwined with underlying institutional shift to twin-primacy of the non-zero sum approach and the interdependence in real domain, connected with growingly association-prone character of the third institutional infrastructure in the actual domain. I.e. the association-prone institutional changes simultaneously affect and increasingly reshape both the third societal infrastructure and the interpretative schemes carrying out signification unfolding through self-communication.

The third intuitional infrastructure's growingly association-prone character may facilitate similar trends in taken for granted perceptions (Perez, 2002), mimetic mechanisms, and the third cognitive-cultural institutional "pillar" (Scott, 1995). I.e. they bring changes in 'carriers' of moral rules affecting legitimation⁴⁴⁹ by generating 'positive sanctions' for cooperative behaviour. The positive sanctioning of cooperation may feedback with the improved effectiveness of resourcing and the participants' growing awareness of the associational advantage that their self-communication may promote. I.e. the co-creation of the cooperation's positive sanctions may interplay with mutually catalytic interplay among the communicative character of the interactions (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995) and their increasing reflectivity, reflexivity and knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984). This interplay may also feedback with the increasing significance (and intensity) of the cognitive, third institutional pillar in comparison to normative and regulative ones (Scott, 1985). A new Economics of the civil-economy⁴⁵⁰ re-focusing on co-creation of abundance through generating new capabilities and improved effectiveness of resourcing is an example of association-prone changes in the cognitive institutional pillar (Scott, 1995).

Since ultimately only the individuals act (Demeulenaere, 2009) these multidimensional change processes unfold through and as the aggregation of the interacting individuals' relationship dyads. The more association-prone character have the institutional constellations which their self-communication enact the higher the probability that their interaction(dyad)s and their 'aggregates'⁴⁵¹ possess cooperative and *additive* character - by increasing the effectiveness of collective resourcing. The particular institutional settings, which more successfully catalyse interactions contributing to the enhanced effectiveness of resourcing, may have higher probability for recursive enactment. I.e. the association-prone settings, which improve the effectiveness of the resourcing can be more frequently re-instantiated in mimetic mechanisms or components, perceived norms, or taken for granted perceptions (Perez, 2002).

Consequently, both the moral and the semantic rules, and therefore the legitimation and the signification, may have increasingly association-prone character. It may simultaneously facilitate that the collaboration may become the primary structure by replacing the

⁴⁴⁹ This constellation makes probable also to transform cooperation into commonly accepted value and norm.

⁴⁵⁰ Economics is "...the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses" emphasizes Lionel Robbins (1932), the leading Economic theorist of the London School of Economics. Robbins explicitly rejects "...the conception of Economics as the study of the causes of material welfare" (Robbins, 1932:16). By erecting Economics "into the queen of all sciences" (Cobb, 2007) means a theoretical exclusion to understand causes of welfare in order to expand it.

⁴⁵¹ It may be more appropriate to consider the aggregation of the processes than some kind of 'aggregates'.

domination. Such re-configuration of the structuration presupposes and may generate the relationships' and the various dimensions' increasingly association-prone character. It may facilitate also their aggregation into a new, associational societal kinetics. I.e. the more dimensions gain association-prone dynamism and the more additive outcome they may generate in resource context the stronger may become the emerging new, associational societal kinetics. It may emerge as the outcome of a multi-dimensional interplay among self-enforcing feedback loops. The stronger additive effects such kinetics may generate in resource dimension the more sustainable it can become.

The networking self-upgrading into third order social entities; the new dialectics of cooperation; the continuous self-organizing; and the association-prone re-configuration of structuration are intertwined phenomena. These tendencies are mutually catalytic and the dynamics of their aggregation interplays with the effectiveness of the resourcing - by turning them into 'triggers' capable unleashing the cooperation trap (Csányi, 1989). These feed backing transformational processes facilitate - presuppose and amplify - each other by generating more association-prone tendencies constitutive of a new societal kinetics - as tendencies in the fourth quasi-future domain indicate. Consequently, the association-prone re-configuration of the structuration may catalyse and amplify the aggregation of broader, mutually catalytic, self-organizing social changes into an associational kinetics of the society.

The study assumes the interplay among (i) association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence; (ii) strengthening horizontalization trends; (iii) feedbacks among process-configurations, and (iv.) reverse feedbacks among non-linear and mutualistic character of causal relations may generate a new, associational, societal kinetics. The aggregation of multiple, diverging and controversial processes and large-scale transformations driven by enhanced effectiveness of resourcing which serves as (evolutionary) selection mechanism favouring empowering cooperation and altered, association-prone kinetics may emerge. This constellation feeds back with networking self-upgrading of the civil society entities and facilitates the growing presence of cooperative relational dynamism across social fields, which may remain free from stronger and lasting collisions and conflicts. Consequently, the current tendencies in the fourth, quasi-future domain seems to confirm predictions of the previous research (Toffler 1995; Perlas, 2000; Benkler, 2006, 2011; Rifkin, 2004, 2011;

Reichel, 2012; Chase, 2012) indicating the emergence of an associational kinetics generative and constitutive of a new collaborative era and its networked societies,

Propositions

The association-prone dynamism may appear simultaneously in multiple dimensions and levels by interplaying with the communities' and civil society entities' tendency for networking self-upgrading. It feeds back with broader association-prone changes which are constitutive of a new, emergent associational societal kinetics. This section presents five general propositions related to diverse aspects of the emerging associational societal kinetics and develops them into a set of specific hypotheses.

Proposition 1: The civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading into third level social entities catalysing and capitalizing on the new dialectics of cooperation feeds back with growingly association-prone character of the third societal infrastructure

The volunteers carry out vivid self-communication enacting and amplifying association-prone institutional settings, which may operate simultaneously as (i) soft organizing platforms, (ii) interpretative schemas of signification, and (iii) social capital. This constellation may catalyse continuous self-organizing, facilitate association-prone patterns of structuration, as well as generate trust and extend its radius. These interplaying developments may facilitate self-enforcing feedback loops catalysing growingly association-prone dynamics and the expansion of the radius of trust across and over the boundaries of particular civil society entities by enabling networking among individuals and their communities. I.e. they carry out the networking self-upgrading of various civil society organizations into project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities which form quasi-fields. These webs are the outcome and catalyse a new dialectics between growingly inclusive and un-fragmented cooperation and altered participative competition. These association-prone trends are intertwined with institutional dual-primacy of the non-zero-sum approach and the interdependence. Their interplay affects also a third institutional-type, soft infrastructure, i.e. the "...wider social and cultural context... [the] environments [which] create the infrastructures - regulative, normative, and cognitive - that constrain and support the operation of individual organizations"(Scott, 1995:151). This third institutional infrastructure possessing growingly associational character and the emerging fields of civil society organizations that through networking self-upgrading transform into project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities constitute an institutional-relational-type third

societal infrastructure. The third societal infrastructure is generative and constitutive of the growingly association-prone character of the approximation among the societal macro-sectors and facilitates the emergence of a new, associational societal kinetics.

Hypothesis 1.1: The longer is the (extended) radius of trust the longer may be the range of the networking self-upgrading

The volunteers enact association-prone institutional settings that operate as social capital generating trust and extending its radius - often across and beyond the boundaries of particular civil society entities. The extension of the radius of trust enables and expands the range of the communicative interactions among members of diverse social entities by generating their capacity to carry out cooperation possessing inclusive and non-fragmented character. The longer is the radius of trust the members of more - and more distanced - entities may contact and interact with each other by carrying out simultaneously their networking self-upgrading that elevates the volunteers' cooperation into new, higher dimension. The longer is the extended radius of trust the members of more civil society entities may contact and interact with each other. Consequently, the longer is the radius of trust the more civil society entities' members may communicate and collaborate with each other by simultaneously elevating their cooperation into new dimension. I.e. the longer may be the range of the civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading what allows overcoming and preventing (the re-emergence of) the cooperation paradox.

Hypothesis 1.2: The stronger is the networking self-upgrading the stronger may be the capacity of social agency

The civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading interplays with the members' empowering individuation and elevates their collaboration into new, qualitatively higher dimension by amplifying its inclusive and seamless character. It carries out the commons' networking self-upgrading which takes place through multidimensional feed backing changes affecting simultaneously the individual volunteers, the dynamics and dialectics of their (cooperative) relationships, and by transforming the self-upgrading civil society entities into emerging webs or quasi-fields of third level social entities (Vitányi, 2007). The networking self-upgrading contributes to the emergence of an institutional-relational-type third societal infrastructure which catalyses multidimensional association-prone changes and facilitates their extension and aggregation. The stronger is the participating civil society entities' networking self-upgrading the broader may be their quasi-field and the stronger may be its

association-prone transformational impact also on its wider environment, i.e. the stronger social agency it may exhibit.

Hypothesis 1.3: The more civil society organizations carry out networking self-upgrading to third degree social entities the larger may be their quasi-field and the stronger may be their contribution to the self-empowerment of the civil society

The self-upgrading civil society entities that operate as quasi-field are also constitutive of the ongoing “participative revolution” (Salamon et al. 2003) of the global civil society. The more entities carry out networking self-upgrading, the broader and stronger may be their emerging quasi-fields and the stronger third societal infrastructure they may create. The stronger is the networking self-upgrading of the civil society organizations the larger is their quasi-field and the more empowering effect may exercise on the civil society as a whole. I.e. the larger and stronger is the quasi-fields’ transformational capacity, their capability of social agency the stronger may be their catalytic effect facilitating the self-empowerment of the civil society.

Proposition 2: The more successful is the overcome of the institutional dominance of zero sum paradigm and resource scarcity view the higher is the probability of the cooperative extension and upgrading of the collective resource base

The stronger is the institutional twin-primacy of non-zero-sum approach and interdependence, i.e. the more successful may be the overcome of the self-fulfilling prophecy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view, the stronger may be the association-prone character of the third institutional infrastructure and the stronger association-prone trends it may catalyse. The stronger is the institutional dimension’s association-prone character the stronger cooperative relational dynamism it may generate, i.e. the more volunteer may contribute to cooperative efforts and the more vibrant may be their communicative interactions. The more volunteers participate in cooperative interactions which simultaneously enact also due resources the bigger is the aggregate resource “volume” which they mobilize and the larger may be the collective resource base. The more the cooperating volunteers capitalize on soft, non-depletable and non-rivalrous resources the stronger their ability is to multiply and upgrade locally available resources by extending and upgrading the collective resource base.

Hypothesis 2.1: The more effectively a particular pattern of the interactions may contribute to enhance the effectiveness of resourcing the higher the probability that the volunteers repeatedly enact related structures or cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992).

The volunteers that carry out various cooperative pursuits through symbiotic and synergistic efforts may co-create new capabilities (Csányi, 1989) that enable their improved capability to access and mobilize resources. I.e. the specific configurations of resource patterns may operate as capabilities (Makadok, 2001) that improve the effectiveness of the collective resourcing and facilitate to generate associational advantage and enhanced life quality. The volunteers' self-communication (Castells, 2009) may catalyse growing awareness of their particular interactions' perceived positive impacts on the effectiveness of resourcing what in turn increases the probability of their repetition. To put it another way the particular interaction patterns' perceived positive impact on the effectiveness of resourcing may facilitate their repetition, i.e. may operate as selective mechanism catalysing - individual and collective - learning. The stronger is the perceived positive impact of a particular interaction pattern on the effectiveness of resourcing the stronger may be the related learning effect. I.e. the higher is the probability to recursively enact structures or cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) enabling, catalysing these interactions.

Proposition 3: The stronger is the new dialectics of cooperation the stronger may be its catalytic impact enhancing association-prone dynamism across social fields

The civil society entities' networking self-upgrading transforming them into project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities simultaneously enhances a new dialectics of their members' growingly inclusive and un-fragmented cooperation and participative competition. The more inclusive and seamless is the volunteers' cooperation the more intense is their 'collaboration without boundaries', i.e. the broader and stronger may be their self-upgrading civil society entities' emerging web or quasi-field. The stronger and larger are these quasi-fields the stronger association-prone effects and cooperative dynamics they may generate across social fields.

Proposition 4: The stronger is the third societal infrastructure the stronger may be the associational societal kinetics

The "...wider social and cultural context...[the] environments create the infrastructures - regulative, normative, and cognitive - that constrain and support the operation of individual organizations"(Scott, 1995:151). This institutional-type 'soft' infrastructure provides for structuration both (i) the interpretative schemes of signification enacted through communication and (ii) the norms of legitimation for sanctioning. The institutional

infrastructure facilitates the civil society organizations' growingly association-prone dynamism and catalyses their networking self-upgrading into third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities. The networking self-transformation is intertwined with a new dialectics of cooperation and competition elevating the collaboration into a qualitatively higher level, and generates the civil society organizations' 'laterally emerging' quasi-fields. These webs or quasi-fields constitute a dynamic, horizontal social layer which cuts across the boundaries of other social entities and actively promotes associational dynamics across fields by catalysing the simultaneous self-empowerment of the civil society. The emerging quasi-fields of the networking self-upgrading commons capitalize on and catalyse the self-organizing mass enactment of the non-depletable and non-rivalrous, self-multiplying soft resources, including creativity - the "generic essence" of human beings (Vitányi, 2007). The growing creativity feeds back with the spread of the non-wage work what is constitutive and generic of broader un-alienating tendencies. The intense enactment and multiplication of the soft resources facilitates the increased effectiveness of resourcing feed backing with additive tendencies and the extension of the collective resource base. Consequently, the interplay among (i) the growingly association-prone character of the institutional infrastructure and (ii) the emerging quasi-fields of the civil society organizations transformed into third level social entities generates and is constitutive of a new, dynamic and transformative third societal infrastructure. This third infrastructure simultaneously catalyses a new dialectics of cooperation and competition; facilitates the self-empowerment of the civil society; contributes to the extension and upgrading of the collective resource base; amplifies broad association-prone and additive transformational dynamics; and catalyses mass-level un-alienation tendencies - as well as their aggregation into a new, associational societal kinetics. Consequently, the stronger is the third societal infrastructure the stronger associational societal kinetics it may catalyse.

Hypothesis 4.1: The stronger is the association-prone character of the third societal infrastructure the higher is the probability that the macro-sectorial convergence follows association-prone patterns

The stronger is the underlying institutional shift to the dual-primacy of the non-zero-sum approach and the interdependence and its interplay with improved effectiveness of collective resourcing the stronger may be the civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading. Their emerging web is constitutive of a third societal infrastructure generating broad associational dynamism. To put it another way, there is a strong correlation between the third

societal infrastructure's association-prone dynamism and the growingly additive character and improving effectiveness of collective resourcing and the extension and upgrading of the collective resource base. This constellation enhances the third societal infrastructure's capacity to catalyse and amplify the association-prone dynamism of both the emergence-pattern of the digital second economy (Arthur, 2011) and the macro-sectorial convergence.

Proposition 5: The stronger is the association-prone pattern of the macro-sectorial convergence the stronger a new associational societal kinetics may become

The stronger is the association-prone dynamism of the third societal infrastructure the stronger is its interplay with the growingly additive character and effectiveness of the resourcing. The stronger is this constellation the stronger effect it may exhibit on the macro-sectorial convergence by facilitating its growingly association-prone dynamics. I.e. the association-prone dynamism of the macro-sectorial convergence may capitalize on a mutually catalytic interplay among (i) the institutional twin-primacy of non-zero sum approach and interdependence, (ii) the growingly cooperative relational dynamism, (iii) the increasingly additive character and effectiveness of the resourcing, and (iv.) the altered dialectics of growingly inclusive and un-fragmented cooperation and participative competition. These feed backing multidimensional (change) tendencies at the same time generate and are constitutive of an emerging, new, associational societal kinetics. Consequently, the growingly association-prone character of the macro-sectorial convergence is generative and constitutive of multidimensional association-prone transformations and their aggregation into a new associational societal kinetics.

Hypothesis 5.1: The more association-prone character has the macro-sectorial convergence and the more successful may be the overcome of the mass-alienation and estrangement trends the stronger may be the associational societal kinetics

The stronger is the association-prone character of the third societal infrastructure the stronger may be its effect as catalytic soft platform enhancing broad association-prone dynamics. The emergence of the third societal infrastructure feeds back with the growingly association-prone character of the macro-sectorial convergence and the self-empowerment of the civil society. The civil society's self-empowerment feeds back with the strengthening of the civil economy (Bruyn 2000) and the spread of the non-wage work that interplays with the emergence of an altered social division of labour. The stronger is the association-prone dynamism of the third societal infrastructure the more inclusive and non-fragmented character has the cooperation

and the stronger is its new dialectics. The stronger is the altered dialectics of the cooperation and competition the stronger is its capability to prevent the re-emergence of the cooperation paradox or self-alienation of collaboration. Consequently, the association-prone character of the macro-sectorial convergence feeds back with multidimensional changes aggregating into broad un-alienation tendencies and their interplay is generative and constitutive of a new associational societal kinetics.

Hypothesis 5.2: The stronger is the self-empowerment of the civil society the stronger may be the associational societal kinetics

The self-empowerment of civil society feeds back with strengthening of the civil economy and is interlinked with association-prone pattern(s) of both the emergence of the second economy (Arthur, 2011) and the macro-sectorial convergence. The association-prone pattern of the macro-sectorial convergence capitalises on and catalyses the self-empowerment of the civil society. The emerging webs of the civil society organizations transform themselves into third level social entities (Vitányi, 2007) constitutive of a third societal infrastructure. The third societal infrastructure catalyse association-prone and un-alienating dynamics and their scale-free, fractal-like extension (Plowman et al., 2007) across the social fields as well as their aggregation into a new associational kinetics. Consequently, the stronger is the civil society's self-empowerment the stronger is the association-prone pattern of the macro-sectorial convergence and the stronger a new, association-prone societal kinetics may become.

Hypothesis 5.3: The stronger are the positive effects of the new, associational societal kinetics the smoother may be its emergence

The associational societal kinetics emerges through the aggregation of the broad un-alienating and association-prone dynamics, which the interplay between the association-prone patterns of the macro-sectorial convergence and third societal infrastructure generates. This interplay may unfold through self-enforcing feedback loops which can unleash the "cooperation-trap" (Csányi, 1989) launching upward spirals of cooperation. Since ultimately only the individuals act (Demeulenaere, 2009) these trends emerge through the aggregation of the volunteers' interactions aiming to improve their life quality through increasing the effectiveness of collective resourcing. The volunteers' repeat the interactions which exhibit positive impact on the effectiveness of the collective resourcing, i.e. the interactions' interplay with the effectiveness of the resourcing operates as a selective mechanism that catalyses collective learning and knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984). Consequently, the stronger positive effects

exhibit on the effectiveness of collective resourcing the volunteers' interactions and the multidimensional changes they catalyse association-prone dynamics the smoother may be their aggregation into a new associational kinetics.

The multi-dimensional process analysis of the communities' transformational dynamism enabled examining the civil society organizations' yet nascent, only emerging transformational - potential and - outcomes which unfold and evolve in a fourth, quasi-future domain. This inquiry allowed elaborating on the civil society organizations' capability of social agency. The concluding chapter summarizes the most salient findings of this inquiry by indicating the civil society organizations' potential future role and transformational outcomes in context of an emerging knowledge society.

4. Concluding discussions

The thesis explores the civil society organizations' transformational outcomes by analysing communities seen as representative examples of their broad array. The studied case-communities' dynamism exhibits robust transformational impacts affecting simultaneously the volunteering members and their relationships, as well as the very commons and their broader environment. The transformational dynamism is created by the interplay of the association-prone re-configuration of structuration processes and the continuously unfolding self-organizing. This dynamics feeds back with the civil society organizations' tendency for networking self-upgrading and enables to carry out social agency through transforming structures, more precisely structuration processes (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992). The commons' networking self-upgrading is constitutive of a third societal infrastructure and feeds back with its growingly association-prone character. This third societal infrastructure is the catalysts of multidimensional changes and facilitates their aggregation into broad(er) cooperative dynamics. This emerging association-prone dynamism interplays with the self-empowerment of the civil society taking place through the mutual approximation among the three societal macro-sectors. This convergence is the dynamic resultant of multidimensional, feed backing transformations, it has association-prone pattern and is generative and constitutive of a new associational societal kinetics.

The next sub-chapter offers an overview of the most salient transformational outcomes of the civil society organizations in the broader context of the emergence of the knowledge society. It aims pointing out at new aspects that the thesis offers in comparison to previous research. The subsequent closing subchapters discuss the managerial implications of findings and provide suggestions for further research.

4.1 Can be the Next Society a knowledge-driven civil society?

The current global associational revolution brings about the “...rise of the civil society... [what] may, in fact, prove to be as significant a development of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as the rise of the nation-state was of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” - indicate Salamon et al. (2003:2). The civil society’s globally growing activity feeds back with its self-empowerment unfolding through and feed backing with association-prone patterns of the societal macro-sectors’ convergence - driven and shaped by the emergence of a new, digital second economy (Arthur, 2011). These tendencies are mutually catalytic and constitutive of an emerging Next Society (Reichel, 2012) of a new, collaborative era - a networked knowledge-driven civil society characterized by a more cooperative and sharing social dynamism (Toffler, 1980, 1995; Perlas, 2000; Benkler, 2006, 2011; Rifkin, 2004, 2011; Reichel, 2012; Chase, 2012).

The study indicates the presence of a paradoxical situation: simply ‘adding’ more cooperation - as previous research proposes (Benkler, 2011; Rifkin, 2011) - may bring about more and fiercer dominance-seeking competition generating enhanced collisions across fields rather than a new, collaborative era. The issue is that the intra-organizational cooperation following exclusive and fragmented patterns is the source of enhanced inter-organizational competition with collisions, conflicts and even confrontations across fields. Only a profound shift to *inclusive* and *un-fragmented* or seamless patterns may prevent such self-alienation of the collaboration. The ‘collaboration without boundaries’ may emerge through the networking self-upgrading of the civil society organizations into project (Castells, 1996) or third order (Vitányi, 2007) social entities generating a new dialectics of cooperation and participative competition. This synthesis brings about quality level transformation preventing the re-emergence of the cooperation paradox.

Such altered dialectics of inclusive and seamless cooperation may generate improvements in collective resourcing in multiple ways. The resulting effectivity gains in resourcing enable to

improve life quality, generate affluence, and co-create genuine sustainability by fulfilling the requirements of the interdependence. The webs of project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities emerging through the civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading are generative and constitutive also of a *third societal infrastructure* generating a new associational societal kinetics.

An altered dialectics of cooperation and competition is linked also with changes affecting among others the institutional, power, value, and resourcing aspects in the civil society organizations that carry out networked self-upgrading. These alterations interplay with and enable the volunteers' empowering individuation, transform the work, and provide the capability of social agency. These alterations in actual domain are constitutive in real domain of the interplay among the association-prone reconfiguration of structuration and the continuously unfolding self-organizing processes. These changes are also constitutive of the often yet embryonic macro-level alterations that unfold in a fourth, quasi-future domain.

The civil society organizations enable “commoning” (Bollier, 2016)⁴⁵², improving the fulfilment of needs through the volunteers' local interactions which may enable bottom-up empowerment. The interacting volunteers by following bottom-up approach, relying on and mobilizing locally available resources may generate multidimensional changes and facilitate their aggregation into broad transformations. Consequently, the community members' local interactions possess the capacity to affect also local-global dynamics and generate large-scale changes - to carry out social agency by “going after the small picture” (Giddens, 1984). These feed backing broad changes are the outcomes of the robust transformational dynamism of the commons which have a tendency to networking self-upgrading by aggregating into quasi-field(s) and acting as large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011). Due to these feed backing tendencies the civil society organizations may generate value and wealth by providing viable practical alternative for markets⁴⁵³ and facilitating to achieve genuine sustainability, i.e. implement in practice (the requirements stemming from the) interdependence.

⁴⁵² The “...the language of the commons provides a holistic vision that helps ...develop a new narrative, cultivate new links of solidarity and - one can hope - build a constellation of working alternatives driven by a different logic” – points out Bollier (2016:9).

⁴⁵³ The civil society players may promote shared production and shared distribution of common - instead of total - goods (Zamagni, 2007, 2014) by simultaneously extending the collective resource base, and increasing the effectiveness, additive character and focal role of the collective resourcing.

The civil society organizations' networking self-upgrading or qualitative self-transformation into third level social entities (Vitányi, 2007) allow carrying out fractal-like, scale-free extension (Plowman et al., 2007 a, b) of the association-prone dynamism of the local interactions. It serves as practical mechanism, a "micro-macro bridge" that allows that "...interaction in small groups aggregates...becomes translated into large-scale patterns, and that these, in turn, feed back into small groups..."(Granovetter, 1973:1360). I.e. it enables to mobilize and amplify the "strength of weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973) in order to carry out social agency.

The volunteers' *motivation* to contribute even unilaterally is probably the most important *resource* of the cooperative efforts. This motivation may and even should harness self-interest instead of trying to "trump it" (Benkler, 2011) as previous research emphasizes⁴⁵⁴. The motivation to participate in voluntary cooperation may have multiple and rather 'practical' sources. These may be more diversified in moral sense than a rather abstract or 'schematic' perception identifying volunteering with charity carried out by good doers. The volunteers' underlying aim is to socialize, to "participate for the sake of participation" and improve their life quality, although it often may remain a tacit or un-conscious reason. Their motivation may also capitalize on the energizing flow experience (Csikszentmihályi, 1990) or "happiness of co-creation" that their contribution to collective efforts may simultaneously create. Additionally the volunteers' participation may fulfil their higher level needs (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006) and facilitate their empowering individuation. Consequently, the very participation in collective efforts may re-generate in multiple ways the motivation to volunteer - independently from the common activity's actual outputs (or their lack).

The volunteers' self-communication (Castells, 2009) generates their awareness of the mutual, shared associational advantage, i.e. the capability to improve life quality by increasing the effectiveness of collective resourcing by re-generating the motivation to volunteer. This awareness may create a demonstrative effect by facilitating to repeat particular interactions perceived as improving the *effectiveness* of collective *resourcing*. The stronger is the perceived positive impact of the particular interactions on effectivity gains the bigger is the

⁴⁵⁴ "It is that larger truth that I have tried to bring to light in this book. I've hoped to show, by cutting through the breadth of scientific and observational evidence now available to us, that we aren't suckers or naïve idealists when we trust, or reciprocate trust. And along the way I've hoped to show how cooperation trumps self-interest - maybe not all the time, for everyone, but far more consistently than we've long thought"(Benkler, 2011:250).

probability of their regular recurrence by crating their stability or ‘durability’. Such perceptions about effectivity gains may serve as important selective and learning mechanism that shape and upgrade volunteer collaboration from micro till macro levels. These may generate broad association-prone tendencies and their self-enforcing feedback loops that by unleashing the “cooperation trap” (Csányi, 1989) facilitate to bring cooperation also into competitive environments (Benkler, 2011).

Such enhanced cooperation follows the logic of social (instead of economic) capital accumulation⁴⁵⁵ turning the open-ended and multi-party aggregation of asynchronous and asymmetric, often unilateral voluntary contributions into a viable praxis. The civil society players’ interactions carry out simultaneously the decentralized and horizontal mobilization and sharing of distributed resources by capitalizing on their relational character (Sewell, 1992; Stillman, 2006). The volunteers’ cooperation enables the symbiotic and synergistic co-creation of new capabilities enabling to generate and capitalize on the enhanced effectiveness of collective resourcing. Consequently, the ‘commoning’ (Bollier, 2016) enables to overcome - practically and theoretically - the self-fulfilling prophecy of resource scarcity view and its combined institutional twin-dominance with zero-sum paradigm. Due to it the volunteers may follow an almost diametrically opposite logic of resourcing and value creation as the market organizations.

The commoning turns the fulfilment of genuine needs and the enabling of abundance into viable practical alternative by undermining the dominance of ‘scarcity maxima’ serving as the cornerstone of the proprietary model dominating the market sector. The co-operative mobilization of the non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28) ‘soft’ resources⁴⁵⁶ enables their multiplication and the co-creation of additional social value or surplus wealth allowing improving (shared) life quality for all. Since the knowledge and the soft resources are crucial for the emerging knowledge economy and society the market and public sector players carry out robust and growingly sophisticated “second enclosure” (Boyle, 2005; Hess and Ostrom, 2009) efforts in order to overcome and prevent the commoning attempts. They

⁴⁵⁵ Although the volunteers focus on co-creation of social capital and value their direct interactions may also bring about economic outcomes as unintentional side-effect.

⁴⁵⁶ The usage of knowledge and the soft resources in general increases both its quantity and quality instead of diminish and outwear. The knowledge is freely sharable without losses for ‘donors’. The knowledge may replace - practically any other - resources, i.e. it may operate also as ‘ultimate substitute’. Additionally the recombination of the existing ‘pieces’ can create new knowledge.

aim to prevent, even to prohibit the soft resources' commoning multiplication and want to re-transform them 'back' into rivalrous and depletable - in order to ensure their subjection to the proprietary economic model following the institutional twin-dominance of the zero-sum paradigm and the resource scarcity view.

Consequently, the second enclosure attempts aim to prevent the voluntary collaboration to become inclusive and un-fragmented mass self-organizing as well as the transformation of the dominance-seeking competition into participative being constitutive of the new dialectics of cooperation. The second enclosure aims to reinforce the dominance of the current proprietary model also in the emerging knowledge society, what "requires" preventing commoning delivery of products and services to fulfil genuine, non-manipulated human needs. It wants to hinder 'flat', horizontal and networked patterns of knowledge society where flexible, open coalitions of volunteers would carry out co-operation by following 'multiple wins'.

Due to this broader, long-term context has fundamental importance to reshape the dominant pattern of both (i) of the resource enactment - especially of the soft resources, and (ii) the emergence of the second digital economy (Arthur, 2011) that drives and shapes the (resultant pattern of the) macro-sectorial convergence. The digital second economy (Arthur, 2011) "...will produce wealth no matter what we do; distributing that wealth has become the main problem"(Arthur, 2011:6). Theoretically it may operate either as company driven proprietary on-demand economy (Ehmsen and Scharenberg, 2016) or as a genuinely sharing (Chase, 2012)⁴⁵⁷ and civil economy (Bruyn 2000). Its emergence currently is driven by the 'technology push' following the economic capital accumulation logic and the underlying institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view characterized by "tyranny of short-termism"(Barton, 2011). The aggregation of the local-global changes may affect, re-shape the second, digital economy's self-organizing dynamism by replacing 'technology push' with association-prone inclusive and sharing model(s) of growth. Since the technologies are embedded (Granovetter, 1985) in local cultures the civil society players may

⁴⁵⁷ The sharing economy means "...a shift toward a more open, collaborative system. A collaborative economy is more about the use of something than the ownership of it. People contribute information and ideas in an effort to find new ways to efficiently use existing technologies as well as drive innovation. Wealth, power, and influence are distributed among diverse individuals rather than controlled by a select few... People, not corporations, are at the center of the collaborative economy. The more people participating and the more diverse their areas of expertise, the better this model will work. And because there's so much diversity and openness, the collaborative economy is all about flexibility and experimentation, and, as a result, adaptation and evolution"(Chase, 2012).

affect and re-shape the patterns of their *enactment* (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000) by enabling and ensuring the free access to and sharing of knowledge and other multipliable soft resources.

The civil society's growing ability to affect and re-configure structuration processes has fundamental significance since the structuration ultimately carries out the constitution of the society (Giddens, 1984). In order to facilitate the spread of association-prone institutional changes the civil society's enhanced cooperation with the public sector as regulator and guardian of implementation is of paramount importance (Bauwens and Kostakis, 2016; Bollier, 2016). The growing association-prone dynamics may be simultaneously a catalyst, a constituent, and an outcome of the association-prone reconfiguration of structuration creating the self-empowering civil society's enhanced capability of social agency (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992; Orlikowski, 1992, 2000). The volunteering commoners by aggregating local association-prone changes into broad and deep transformations may improve social productivity. I.e. it may facilitate to re-allocate and remobilize the (enormous "volume" of the) creativity that the second digital economy (potentially) liberates from wage-work. The commons, their networking self-upgrading may catalyse various patterns of large-scale cooperation serving as "... a core vector through which the transition to a networked society and economy ...happening"(Benkler, 2011:Acknowledgments).

The current industrial information society generates the robust and increasing duality of trends by simultaneously enhancing the mass-empowering potential and re-generating increasingly sophisticated mass-alienation tendencies. Through networking self-upgrading the civil society entities may create and amplify the new dialectics of cooperation providing robust empowering potential. However the 'horizontally emerging' power networks (Vitányi, 2007), which are more opaque than "traditional" hierarchies, strengthen powerful disempowering trends. I.e. the industrial information society provides the context where the development processes may simultaneously serve the empowering individuation and the enhanced sophistication of the mass manipulation of consumers and voters.

In this context a 'soft' third societal infrastructure⁴⁵⁸ that facilitates to catalyse association-prone alterations in institutional-relational-power dimensions has of paramount importance.

⁴⁵⁸ A third societal infrastructure emerges through feedbacks among the civil society organizations networking self-upgrading into webs or quasi-fields of project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities and the growingly association-prone dynamism of the third institutional infrastructure (Scott, 1995) generative

The civil society entities, their transformational dynamism emerge through the interplay of the continuous self-organizing with the association-prone reconfiguration of structuration allowing the collaboration replacing domination feed backing with association-prone shifts in the legitimation and signification⁴⁵⁹. The self-communication enables to gain and enhance the volunteers' enhanced self- and social consciousness by generating their interactions' growing reflectivity, reflexivity and knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984). The current situation can recall some similarity with the developments at the dawn of the industrial era. Back then, the merchant capital⁴⁶⁰ - its volumes and operating entities - could seem negligible. They were hardly comparable with the huge feudal estates exhibiting robust socio-economic over-weight and socio-political dominance. In those days, few if any would 'bet' on the reality of deep, overarching shifts - just because some strange proposals arguing (for the necessity) to provide liberty, fraternity and equality⁴⁶¹... Nevertheless the institutional shifts catalysed and were constitutive of truly comprehensive societal changes, ultimately opening the new industrial era⁴⁶².

“Opportunity for world order presents itself to each generation disguised as a set of problems. The dilemma of our age was perhaps best summed up by the philosopher Immanuel Kant over two hundred years ago. In his essay "Perpetual Peace" he wrote that the world was destined for perpetual peace. It would come about either by human foresight or by a series of catastrophes that leave no other choice” - as the emblematic figure of pragmatism and real-politics, Kissinger (2004) points out. The patterns of the dominant world order instantiate and aggregate the (multiplicity of) the individuals' interactions. The collaborative self-

and constitutive of association-prone dynamics emerging across social fields and their integration into a new associational societal kinetics.

⁴⁵⁹ This altered structuration simultaneously catalyses and is constitutive of the associational societal kinetics.

⁴⁶⁰ An important remark proposed by the supervisor of the thesis, Professor Risto Tainio.

⁴⁶¹ Followers of the “glorious triad” envisaged developments often rather different from the real trajectory of events. His experience rather soon convinced Adam Smith of the necessity to link his liberal plan aiming to provide secure tranquillity for all members of the society with the active courage of the civil society in order to limit the destructive consequences of “mercantile interest” and middling virtue, instead of hoping for the “high minded values”(Evensky, 2007).

⁴⁶² “When a developing country gets stuck in a no-growth equilibrium, building a consensus on a forward-looking vision for inclusive growth is always the critical first step toward achieving better economic performance and the policies that support it. That is what the most effective leaders have done. The principle is the same for developed countries. Our best hope is that today’s leaders understand it and will adhere to it, thereby putting their creative energies to work on a new vision that places their countries on a path to greater prosperity and equity”(Spence, 2016).

empowerment of the volunteer co-operators constituting the civil society simultaneously generates and may capitalize on a new, associational societal kinetics⁴⁶³.

The stronger is the self-empowerment of the civil society the higher is the probability of the emergence of a Next Society (Reichel, 2012) - a knowledge-driven, networking and sharing civil society. The related change tendencies⁴⁶⁴ unfold in a fourth future quasi-domain and are in their early, nascent phase. They are frequently only partly visible and may seem incomparable with robust global developments driven by the dominance seeking competition among market - and public - sector participants. Civil society players - and the currently observable large-scale patterns of cooperation - seem to be small David(s) compared to the huge global hierarchies and power networks (Vitényi, 2007) of the market sector accumulating previously unimaginable (volumes and types) of resources and power. It may turn out however that the today Goliaths stand on the feet of clay... The more they increase their affluence and might the stronger tensions, alienating pressures, and disenchantment they generate. The resource and power accumulation and redistribution patterns they try to impose take place at the expense of growing unsustainability and mass-disempowerment. By chasing competitive advantage and enhanced profitability they produce destabilizing double- and often multiple-negative outcomes - limiting and even decreasing the collective resource base.

The civil society may operate increasingly as a function system of the society (Reichel, 2012) amplifying cooperative dynamism across social fields and (re-)shaping the convergence patterns of social macro-sectors constitutive of the emergence of knowledge society. The civil economy (Bruyn, 2000) should serve as domain for smooth reallocation and re-mobilization of the robust creative energies 'liberated' from wage work in the market sector. The (self-) empowering civil society acts as the 'common of commons' that offers local-global alternatives which demonstrate - "tertium datur". I.e. it justifies in practice that the frequently voiced claims about the exclusivity of "market versus state" dichotomy (Anheier, 2004) are faulty and misleading.

⁴⁶³ The self-empowerment of the civil society feeds back with the growingly association-prone character of the institutional-relational-power dynamics interplaying with the improved effectiveness and additive dynamism of the collective resourcing. Persistent resource multiplying efforts could have exceptional importance also to overcome - both in practical and psychological sense - the mass alienation pressures.

⁴⁶⁴ In socio-philosophical context the current changes overcome mechanical approach driven by a "Newtonian" world view and its "binominal" causation perception reduced to the pattern of action-reaction (or counteraction).

The chance and potential of the self-empowerment is given for each - or at least most - of us, as well as the possibility to contribute also unilaterally to common efforts... By volunteering to act locally in order to facilitate the solution of daily issues one may contribute also to collective efforts aiming to solve global challenges “by going after the small picture” (Giddens, 1984). This potential creates and amplifies the local interactions’ local-global character arising from growing interdependence. The awareness that we are all members of the global civil society and we can “use our best resources, which are each other”⁴⁶⁵ may contribute to positive changes. The processes, events, and trends aggregating ultimately into the dominant socio-economic constellation(s) are always created by the interacting individuals - by us. Consequently, the interacting individuals may mutually empower each other - us! Since “...ultimately only the individuals act” (Demeulenaere, 2009) it is us to decide whether the enacted tools and resources⁴⁶⁶ may bring about empowerment or disempowerment. Personal choices consciously enabling empowerment offer much broader chances than “just” our mere survival. To participate in volunteer cooperative pursuits, hopefully, will not require heroism, nevertheless chances to become heroes of our own life⁴⁶⁷ exist - as case-community clusters and the tendencies unfolding in a fourth, quasi-future domain suggest.

4.2 Managerial implications of findings

The civil society organizations are domains of voluntary self-organizing activities characterised by interplaying enabling leadership and soft management. The self-organizing activities’ successful professional enabling requires one’s readiness and capability to listen patiently and to act delicately⁴⁶⁸ by deploying innovative, ‘soft’ methods⁴⁶⁹. The enabling leaders deliver “leadership with word” (Plowman et al, 2007) by affecting and shaping sense and meaning making. They orchestrate emergent visions and developments by perceptions of

⁴⁶⁵ The plausible expression of a Neighbourhood House expert quoted Stillman (2006) from a research interview.

⁴⁶⁶ Giddens (1984) prefers to talk about rules and resources, but Sewell (1992) indicates the appropriateness to indicate cultural schemas and resources.

⁴⁶⁷ The opportunity to “become subjects of our own life”(100-20-27-5) is given to each one of us!

⁴⁶⁸ “A: ...in some cases you need very strong enabling. ...For example ...broadband net. We have to organize quite heavily to have IT specialists ...people who are taking care of the projects, you have to deliver gadgets... ...it is possible and we are doing this [enabling of] self-organization all the time. But you have to be quite delicate. You can’t push very much. You have to hear quite well what people are saying and of course that requires skills that are quite different from the normal project managers’ skills” (100-20-3-5:593-599).

⁴⁶⁹ “...A: You don’t have hierarchy anymore, so if you want...to lead or manage people, you have to have charisma, and you have to understand how people work and understand [that] they are individuals...not...ants...working on a line ...take care of people in a different way than you have done, that’s one of the biggest change [upon expectations of] our members...”(100-20-6-5:133-143) - summarizes management related findings of the survey among members of MBA students’ Association its coordinator.

meaning, influencing expectations, catalysing association-prone institutional changes rather than by managing people and events. They capitalize on combination of catalysing, facilitating, enacting, mobilizing, enabling, matchmaking, incentivising, pulling and orchestrating, i.e. follow perceptions and practice which is rather different from dominant management approach. They focus on identifying and co-creating mutual advantage instead of trying to achieve competitive advantage by ‘beating competitors’. The civil society organizations’ leaders’ aim is to facilitate the processes’ growingly self-organizing character through co-creating improved collective capabilities, broaden and enhance autonomy and empowering individuation, self-organizing cooperation and self-governance, effective and broad networking.

In civil society organizations the consequent enabling leadership may generate meritocratic power, the capacity to “influence in case of necessity”, which is shared and sharing, integrative ‘power with’ (Kreisberg, 1992) instead of ‘traditional’ dominance and control. The volunteers usually are unwilling to accept and tend strictly limit hierarchical subordination. The open source communities may serve as relevant examples for more in depth study of practical variants of combination of meritocracy and direct democracy.

The civil society entities’ ability to facilitate and capitalize on emerging new patterns of large-scale cooperation (Benkler, 2011) requires growing sophistication of management methods enabling to deploy social innovations. Civil society organizations may effectively manage complex, long-term projects generating high quality and sustainable ‘products’ and services, fulfilling genuine needs as various patterns of large-scale cooperation, such as free and open source software communities demonstrate. The new forms of ‘creative artisanship’ enable networking ‘craftsmen’ to collaborate with a quasi-global scope, manage increasingly complex forms of cooperation and sharing through self-organizing (Rifkin, 2011; Chase, 2012). It requires managing parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive interactions with global reach⁴⁷⁰. Various horizontal and decentralized patterns of effective orchestration of distributed resources are worth of further attention since they prove to effectively coordinate and synchronize complex and long-term collaborative activities, large and growing patterns of cooperation.

⁴⁷⁰ Similar tendencies are connected among other with nano- and bio-technologies, implementation of new materials, 3D printing, and additive manufacturing (Cicero, 2012).

To mobilize increasing volumes of external resources requires also firms engaging into open innovation through large and growingly complex innovation ecosystems what seems to make necessary implementing soft management tools enabling enhanced effectiveness in networks with global reach. Additionally, the communities and civil society organizations are capable to identify and mobilize through the volunteers' personal interactions highly distributed, primarily soft resources located in inter-organizational space. This raises increasing attention on behalf of market and public sector players toward large-scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2011), phenomena similar to web2.0 or open source communities. However, in such environments firms have to learn to interact with independent, strong, and sensitive partners.

In knowledge economy to achieve and maintain efficiency may require the companies' progressing transformation into self-organizing communities of co-workers where "...effective management is not an issue of controlling skills, but an issue of how we live as human beings" - emphasize Nonaka et al., (2008:245). The emergence of knowledge economy and society seems to feedback with increasingly multi-directional character of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) in context of macro-sectorial convergence tendencies affecting perceptions, approaches, and processes in all three major 'sectors' of society. However, the approximation is the outcome, the resultant of interplay among multiple and diverse philosophies, mechanisms, styles and ways of transformations. The convergence, its actual pattern may appear as dynamic outcome, envelope curve of multi-dimensional change processes that may follow highly different logics and paths. Their eminent non-linearity makes difficult attempts of influencing and orchestrating them, and seems to make impossible efforts aiming to 'manage them'.

The emergent second digital economy (Arthur, 2011) may interfere and gain growing semblance with a civil economy by enabling smooth transposition of growing 'volumes' of creativity which are 'liberated' from wage work aiming fulfilling basic human needs. The facilitation of successful transformations seem frequently capitalize on a dual leadership allowing combining visionary charisma, 'creative madness' providing non-conventional ideas, the wish and capacity 'braking the path' with the ability of systematic coordination of daily implementation and patient capacity building⁴⁷¹ - as multiple case-communities indicate. Whether the combination of enabling leadership and soft management tools and methods may successfully catalyse emergence of widening networks of large-scale patterns of cooperation

⁴⁷¹ Similar conclusion offer also Plowman et al. (2007) discussing emergence of "continuous radical change".

and their aggregation into quasi-fields - remains to be seen. The capacity to “lead with words” (Plowman et al., 2007) by facilitating sense and meaning making and by catalysing and amplifying association-prone tendencies in third societal infrastructure may become imperative what may require robust supporting research as the next section also indicates.

4.3 Suggestions for further research

The emergence processes of a “second digital economy” (Arthur, 2011), its self-organizing and self-regulating character, because of their wider consequences become urgent and important topic to analyse. It is connected with numerous, frequently interplaying phenomena with significant (potential) consequences such as multiplying and proliferating new forms of ‘atypical employment’ deserving attention also in context of macro-sectorial convergence. Although these tendencies are often presented as carriers of enhanced autonomy, flexibility, and entrepreneurship, in reality they frequently mean innovative, ‘sophisticated’ patterns of wage work. They often seem to be growingly intensified and exploitative⁴⁷² extensively decomposing remaining elements of labour and social security of ‘independent workers’. The typical and atypical organizations generate a rapidly widening grey zone becoming significant source of wide changes and growing challenges⁴⁷³ what may require further attention.

It’s also worth studying the capability of civil society organizations to affect and (re-) shape locally technology push related trends. Local, often small communities may carry out rather complex, renewable energy related developments that ultimately may allow also their ‘taking off’ from grid or establish and utilise collective complexes similar to ‘photovoltaic farms’ often in larger localities. Both variant may enhance local autonomy in multiple ways; i.e. renewable energies may create also broader empowering effects and facilitate to capitalize on the third societal infrastructure’s increasingly association-prone character.

The exploration of the wider effects of civil economy needs a new Economics allowing re-focusing on (the potential of) co-creating abundance⁴⁷⁴ and genuine sustainability. The

⁴⁷² “Using the language of entrepreneurship, flexibility, autonomy, and choice, the burden of the biggest risks of life: unemployment, illness, and old age have been lifted onto the shoulders of the workers”(Scholz, 2016:5).

⁴⁷³ This aspect as one of the pre-examiners indicates may become source of rather robust changes and transformational dynamics.

⁴⁷⁴ The Economics is “...the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses” emphasizes Lionel Robbins (1932), the leading Economic theorist of the London School of Economics. Robbins explicitly rejects “...the conception of Economics as the study of the causes of material welfare” (Robbins, 1932:16). By erecting Economics “into the queen of all sciences”(Cobb, 2007) means a theoretical exclusion to understand causes of welfare in order to expand such welfare.

‘asymmetric human responsibility’ stemming from interdependence frequently is ignored or reduced to narrowly perceived (requirements of) sustainability. In this context is worth analysing how to utilize feedbacks among association-prone institutional and relational changes and robust technological transformations constitutive of emerging second, digital economy. The role of legal and regulatory measures⁴⁷⁵, especially in relation to association-prone changes in third societal infrastructure deserves further attention.

The analysis of empirical data demonstrates growing presence and importance of sharing⁴⁷⁶ that simultaneously seem to feedback with and alter also the ownership’s perception, role and character. The thesis capitalizes on indications of Ostrom (1990, 2009) about multi-layered and process character of ownership discussed in context of shared utilization of common pooled resources (CPR). The ownership is aggregation of feed backing processes such as accessing, withdrawing, managing, excluding and alienating - argues Ostrom (2009:419-420). They require intense cooperation in order to carry out effectively multiple interlinked activities constitutive of exercising ownership - rather than simply ‘prevent others’ from enacting particular resources. The interplay between sharing and a more nuanced process-approach to ownership deserves further attention. The exploration of dynamic links between sharing (Benkler, 2011; Chase, 2012) and component processes of owning (Ostrom, 2009) may have significance also in context of the civil society’s growing activity and transformational role in value and wealth creation.

In civil society organizations the enabling leadership often has meritocratic character. This trend raises at least two significant issues concerning potentially dangerous tendencies with regard indications of Kreiss et al. (2010). The first is related to effectiveness of direct, participative democracy, its legal, legislative frames and organizational mechanisms in ensuring responsibility and accountability of meritocratic leaders of self-organizing communities and entities. The second topic arises from the fact that associations of volunteer co-operators have the right and the practical ‘capability’ to (non-)accept - the participation or membership of - particular persons or teams. Consequently, while ‘collaboration directed against other persons’ may be formally prohibited in legal context, it does not question the

⁴⁷⁵ One of the pre-examiners indicated potential benefit to concretely “...draw the attention to the Digital Agenda, as part of Europe2020, or the efforts made for creating the Single Digital Market for EU.”

⁴⁷⁶ Evans (2013) argues that the “...property is an inefficient distribution of resources ...[there is] a dichotomy between two very different modes of thinking - one where you own things, and one where you just use them, and share them when they’re not in use”. The study assumes resource sharing has effects and growing significance going beyond resource context.

right for non-accepting and non-including somebody. I.e. the right of particular communities for 'non-involvement' or 'non-cooperation' may generate factual exclusion in personal context. It may become significant and growing source of social exclusion that - due to rapid broadening and multiplication of self-organizing social networks - may also quickly grow.

The trust creation and enhancement also may have increasing significance in multiple aspects. Since the measurement of trust seems to be rather difficult issue by itself⁴⁷⁷, more in depth examination of trust related questions could be useful topic for further research. The feedbacks between trust and motivation are also worth to be analysed more thoroughly.

Another related phenomenon is connected with a virtual contradiction. Namely, the individuals by capitalizing on enhanced connectivity continue to focus their attention on interactions with a core team of partners consisting of 3-7 persons on average (Adams, 2010). Consequently, core groups may play prominent - in a sense 'disproportional' - role in generating the dynamic 'relationship geometry' feed backing with (inter-)network and broader, social dynamics. The analysis of interplay between this horizontal 'relationship geometry' and the innumerable personal - relationship and interaction - dyads generative and constitutive of it probably may shed more light also on how associational or lateral powers may act and spread by contributing to enhance associational societal kinetics.

The emerging new, associational societal kinetics is characterized by the interplay among:

- association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence;
- strengthening horizontalization;
- enhancing effectiveness of resourcing;
- mutual effects of process- feedbacks and configurations; and
- the non-linearity of causation.

Each of these phenomena is worth of more detailed exploration not to mention their dynamic, feed backing interplay.

In order to depict emerging and feed backing dynamics and tendencies related to the civil society organizations' transformational dynamism and outcome the thesis elaborates constructs offering 'ideal type' (Weber, 1949)⁴⁷⁸ descriptions. The resulting constructs, their

⁴⁷⁷ The importance of this aspect emphasizes one of the pre-examiners in his opinion.

⁴⁷⁸ According to Max Weber: "An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete

emergence and growing impacts, frequently indicate rapidly growing potential, worth of further investigation. The study gathers empirical data through “constant comparison” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) of a sample-case and clusters of case-communities in order to strengthen their representativity. The explored multi-coloured clusters consist of case-communities located and active primarily in Finland and Hungary. Further research may capitalize on larger set and broader range of civil society organizations by increasing both robustness and validity of proposed constructs through deploying quantitative methods. It can benefit on broader data sources, questioner based and various sophisticated statistical methods⁴⁷⁹.

The current explorations raise questions seemingly requiring in depth analysis. How community-network dynamism - which is association-seeking, long-term focused, mutual adaptation oriented, and emerging from local sources - may reshape short-term focused, immediate return oriented, and dominance seeking dynamics, which are globally dominant? How can the self-organizing of civil society create innovative forms of direct democracy and how these later may interplay with ‘traditional’ constructs of representative democracy that tries to regain its effectiveness currently exhibiting diminishing trends?⁴⁸⁰ At first sight the answer seems to be that such shifts are simply not realistic. It may require, however, a more nuanced approach since closer look at details of ongoing change processes seem indicate often higher probability. For example the enhanced effectiveness of collective resourcing and the awareness-creating effect of self-communication seem to play a role also in this broader aspect - worth of further exploration.

individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct (Gedankenbild). In its conceptual purity, this mental construct (Gedankenbild) cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a utopia”(Weber, 1949: 90).

⁴⁷⁹ One of the pre-examiners also emphasized the benefit of deploying various quantitative research methods.

⁴⁸⁰ The current developments in Greece and Spain, and recently also in France indicate the practical significance of these tendencies.

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Appendices

I. Overview of case-community clusters

The next sections describe each explored case-community and elaborate also on characteristics of their five clusters.

Life sharing communities

1/ Active Seniors' Community – “become the subject of our life”⁴⁸¹

In order to ensure meaningful and dignified elderly life and high quality care for their relatives and for themselves a group of Finnish women studied the experience of the Färdknäppen Community house in Stockholm. They had to realise that the Finnish context requires changes in the model⁴⁸² therefore they elaborated a new vision considering due alterations. They established the “Loppukiri” or Active Seniors Association aiming to facilitate both the construction of a seven storey building and the creation of the residents' community. Since the city of Helsinki had planned to carry out an experiment in the new Arabianranta district⁴⁸³ aiming to create innovative forms of elderly care therefore it provided a construction lot in order to support the initiative.

The dual project of the construction of a tailor-made, customized building and the community creation brought about many unforeseen challenges. The increasing construction costs⁴⁸⁴ generated significant drop-out and multiple changes among participants. During planning and construction the Active Seniors had to generate non-traditional solutions to implement the concept combining personalized apartments and large premises for collective use. To establish a community of elderly persons who had not have any relevant previous experience became another source of challenges. The future residents cooperated with experts and carried out regular trainings to be prepared for their new, collective life and also elaborated the value basis of their imagined community. They carried out intense brain storming sessions to find solutions whenever they met challenges - what facilitated also community creating. Through

⁴⁸¹ The case describes the community of Active Seniors whose aim was to create a new model of self- and mutual care allowing living meaningful and dignified elderly life. The interview with the coordinator of the association and their answers to an EU questionnaire serve as primary sources of the case presentation.

⁴⁸² For example the Färdknäppen was a rental house, while upon the Finnish regulation in force the residents had to own their apartments.

⁴⁸³ Arabianranta served as a pilot for complex district level development programs.

⁴⁸⁴ The construction turned to be a project of 9.5 million euros value.

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their five years long collaborative efforts⁴⁸⁵ they constructed a seven floor building offering personalised apartments and comfortable community areas and established and developed the community of the residents.

“The objective of the Loppukiri project was to develop for seniors an alternative model of life, which would be based on cooperation and sense of community. The project started with brainstorming by private persons who wanted to take full charge of their lives also in the old age. The Finnish social security system was in crisis and a small group of women decided to find a good solution and started to plan actively the way they want to grow old. They established the Active Seniors’ Association which started to plan and design a housing community for senior citizens.

They had to ...find a site to build, then to create a model of communal living. They also had to find inhabitants who were willing to share the common premises and to work together for the community. And last but not least they had to find an architect and a constructor in order to build a block of flats for themselves, and to market their unique idea to the future inhabitants. That was quite a new way to act in Finland, but the dream came true. Our ageing group of people with a strong female majority built a house and created a well-functioning community”(100-20-27-8:6) - summarize their aims and efforts the Active Seniors in their answers for an EU questionnaire.

“...Brainstorming and creative thinking served as the resource in our difficulties and these ways of solving problems have rooted to be our general way of action even now when we are living in Loppukiri. Problems of financing the project and of recruiting inhabitants to the house arose repeatedly. We immediately tried to find solutions by brainstorming and creative thinking, and succeeded. These methods are valuable resources also at present and are often applied to solve the problems of our community”(100-20-27-8:3-4) - points out members of Association at focal importance of brain storming in solving problems of daily life.

The community members’ aim was to offer effective mutual help and care for each other. The residents participate in working groups that carry out in shifts necessary daily tasks from preparing food for all residents till daily ‘facility management’. The community members also

⁴⁸⁵ The plan was accepted in 2001, the project was launched in August 2002, while the construction started in 2004. They finished the seven storey building with 58 flats and 400 sq. meters of common area and moved in the Loppukiri house in April 2006.

participate in preparation and construction of a second, multi-storey building providing accommodation for the ‘other half’ of the Loppukiri Association’s members.

Various departments of the Helsinki city council and the central government analysed lessons that the Active Seniors experience offer⁴⁸⁶ in order to clarify (pre-)conditions allowing re-implementing the model⁴⁸⁷. The Active Seniors receive dozens of requests from Finland and abroad to provide information about the model for the media and consultation for people interested to implement it in practice, as well as co-operation proposals those spectres ranges from leisure time activities⁴⁸⁸ till participation in scientific observations.

“The key result has been the fact that we are now living in communal way in our housing community. The communal way of living is based on the principles accepted by us already in the beginning of the project. The way we are living is developing all the time when we meet problems or obstacles or learn more and find better solutions.

Our project also serves as a pilot... In Finland there are already several new communal housing projects under discussion. Hopefully at least a few of them will materialize. The Loppukiri-project has been widely ventilated and handled in the press and also in an expert seminar 2.4.2008, which was organized by the Active Seniors’ Association. Also a book about the project has been published in January 2009. So the information about the project has spread out well. The sense of community has been on stage quite visible in social discussion. Loppukiri is a communal model to be reckoned with”(100-20-28-5:4) - summarize the community members the most salient aspects of their models’ publicity.

“Having seen how successful our pilot is, the City of Helsinki now highly appreciates initiatives of this type from private citizens, and has promised to allot another building site for a similar house. Also the other senior house will be realized under the umbrella of the Active Seniors’ Association. Constructors, too, are interested in our model. We have had joint seminars also with them. ...Most significant result is perhaps that initiatives of citizens are now appreciated more and valued better than before”(100-20-28-5:5) - sum up by answering to an EU questioner the Active Seniors their plans to re-deploy the model they elaborated.

⁴⁸⁶ The residents prepared and published a book about the model and their experiences of its implementation.

⁴⁸⁷ The analysis of the experience showed the necessity of multiple actions including legal / legislative changes.

⁴⁸⁸ Members of the community acted also in the presentation of the „Cherry Orchard” of Chekhov that the students and professors of the Art and Design University staged.

The aim of the initiators and members of the Active Seniors Association was and remains to ensure meaningful and dignified elderly life. They offer an alternative model of care-taking that prevents to turn the 'users of care-taking services' into passive and often un-dignified objects. The Active Seniors established work groups in frame of their new project coined as "Last sprint" to elaborate solutions for inevitable challenges that passing years and potential healthcare problems may create. Their explicit aim is to demonstrate that elderly people are motivated, willing and capable to solve - often at innovative manner - their own problems and also contribute to solution of (broader) social challenges. Their volunteer cooperation enables to systematically improve life quality by living meaningful, creative, dignified, and happier daily life. A coordinator of Association summarised very plausibly their approach by thanking their partners for helping their efforts "to become the subjects of their lives"(100-20-27-5).

"Loppukiri is the first senior house in Finland where every inhabitant belongs to a working group and has the feeling of being important to the community. Because there are no employed staffs we really work for the benefit of the community, instead of busying ourselves with unnecessary little things. This leads to empowerment and activation of the individuals and they start to make independent initiative"(100-20-28-5:5) - points out at the empowering effects of their community life the Active Seniors.

"Hopefully the Loppukiri-project shows that ageing people are a significant resource in the society. We do not want to be only involuntary objects of decision-making but actors in our own life, subjects also as senior citizens"(100-20-28-5:4) - emphasizes members of the Association the importance and broader positive effects of living active, meaningful, and dignified elderly life.

2/ Care TV users' community - give dignity for life⁴⁸⁹

The Laurea University of applied sciences follows the principle of "learning by developing". Their students try to find solution(s) to real life problems by cooperating with experts in the district of Helsinki where their university is located. The students of the University's Well Life Centre learned that many elderly people suffer from insomnia, which - as more in depth studies indicated - is often generated from loneliness. The group of students in cooperation with technology experts developed a platform - by using digital TV related technology - that enables elderly people to simultaneously connect each other and professionals in various

⁴⁸⁹ The case presents how the contingent group of users of Care TV services co-create their (emerging) community. The interview with the expert of the Well Life Centre of the Laurea University coordinating Living Laboratory related activities serves as the primary source of case description.

subjects. Their vivid communication facilitates to prevent and overcome loneliness that may generate their insomnia.

Many elderly people, whom the students contacted, were ready actively participating in and contributing to cooperative efforts aiming to create innovative services. The elderly people, the future users volunteered to participate in common efforts what brought about significant changes also in their relationships with both students and experts. Through the cooperative efforts the abstract ‘consumers’ became well-known and increasingly liked personal acquaintances, partners, colleagues and ‘team members’. Their experience and knowledge, as well as their interest and motivation to cooperate and contribute meant valuable resource for collective efforts. They contributed to develop the care TV and its services that allowed solving also problems of many other potential users including young(er) people returning home after treatment(s) in hospital and persons taking care about handicapped family members⁴⁹⁰. These unforeseen positive outcomes also became important reference contributing to successful commercialization of the platform and the related services⁴⁹¹.

The relationship among (test) users of services also changed gradually, they started to act increasingly as a community instead of a random group of users of care TV services. The digital platform enabled to participate in various collective activities and to communicate among each other and with experts⁴⁹². The group members became more active, started to contact and meet each other, to create their own programs also in real, physical space - besides participating (often together) in programs unfolding through the digital platform.

The care TV by allowing participating, cooperating, belonging and making a difference transformed both the individuals and their emerging community. The common activities improved, turned into increasingly caring their relationships by gradually transforming the “virtual user group” into a genuine community. Its members broadened their contacts, invented solutions for various problems, and initiated new common activities⁴⁹³. The participation in a community enabled the members to change their daily life - to overcome

⁴⁹⁰ Both groups had experienced the feeling of confinement that could trigger insomnia.

⁴⁹¹ A global company bought the system and its services.

⁴⁹² The services included broad spectre from collective physical exercises till personal consultation with the nurses who worked in the service centre.

⁴⁹³ „...it was during Christmas, one of those clients asked ...there’s not so many programs during the Christmas time ...in fact Christmas time is so quiet and... is it possible that we could have so called new, own programs. We don’t need any program, but we need broadcasting time, so that we all know that what time we are going to be together...” And then ...we created programs, we call it “let’s chat”... we asked them, at what time you would like to have that ...program ...they can be ...even twenty people together. And during the Christmas time ...it was very nice for them”(100-20-2-5:316-322) - recalls the expert of the Laure University.

insomnia and in many ways improve their life quality. The “care TV gives dignity for life”(100-20-2-5:248) - as they plausibly described the transformative effect of their belonging to an merging community of volunteer co-operators.

The project was successful in multiple aspects simultaneously, such as education, innovation, community development, and also in commercial sense. The digital platform and the emerging services - rather collective programs and efforts - that the care TV enabled to provide facilitated to improve their life quality. By alleviating (the sense of) confinement it helped to overcome insomnia which was generated because of various reasons. The project brought about improvements in life quality also of participating students and experts besides the “primary users” acting as co-creators. Its success in context of education contributed also to the decision of Laurea University to capitalize on open innovation and join to (the network of) Living Laboratories. The open innovation allowed also upgrading their ‘traditional’ learning by developing approach.

“A: ...when we have been working with those elderly people, developing caring TV programs and contents ...we have realized that ...they are very happy that they can be involved in developing future services. ...we have decided to ...further collaborate with them ...by using their knowledge and their ideas to develop more services... So we are going to [organize a] seminar in next autumn ...[by] talking about participating services.

A: ...when they are able to give their knowledge in the innovation process, their ideas ...it is empowerment. And those elderly people ...are very keen on this kind of activities. And they are willing to share their knowledge and their ideas...

Q: In which direction the empowerment can take place? Is a tricky thing that who is empowered by whom? ...When you say empowerment it means that it’s an empowered service, it’s an empowerment for the elderly, or it’s an empowerment for the people who want to improve the services to them...

A: I think that those people, when they are interacting, they are empowering themselves.

Q: So it’s a kind of self-empowerment through contacts and co-operation.

A: ...empowerment is not ...top down process. I think the ...added value comes from those people.

A: ...in that waythe whole value creation system is changing very radically...”(100-20-2-5:33-67) - points out the expert coordinating the project in Laurea University at the diverse (self-)empowering aspects of the active user-participation in creating welfare services.

3/Artist community - participative competition⁴⁹⁴

A group of artists searching new art studios checked possibilities in Arabianranta known as “art and design city”. The initiators established the “Kolmas Kerros” Association. Its basic

⁴⁹⁴ The case describes the transformation of a contingent group of co-tenants into a genuine artist community serving as the major source of their mutual creative inspiration. The interview with the coordinator of the community offers the primary source of case presentation.

rules aimed ensuring paying rent in due time and avoiding (the re-emergence of) chaotic circumstances characteristic for their previous art studios⁴⁹⁵. The co-tenants delegated powers to volunteering board members to interview candidates wishing to join as co-tenants; manage access to common gallery space; and check the cleaning of studios and facilities. The group members participated in many local events and happenings where they could present and sell their artefacts. The association also started to create resources to allow financing more regular marketing to increase their sales.

The studio complex rapidly became full. The age 42 tenants ranged from 18 till 72, there were people with diverse nationalities⁴⁹⁶, interested in various types of arts. Some members of the multi-coloured group were trained professionals spending all their time with creating art⁴⁹⁷, while many were amateurs who could deal with their favourite artistic activity only after the daily work. Their collectively owned art gallery enabled to organize exhibitions and they regularly invited experts to discuss art related professional issues⁴⁹⁸. The more experienced also offered unobtrusive coaching for “junior artists”.

“A: We ...formed an association in June ...about 10 people. ...We were [previously] in another association. ...there was a fire... ...it was all the smoke... And many of us felt that we can’t work there... we found a place ...we made the agreement and ...moved in 1 of August.

Q: ...why did you decide to come to Arabianranta? It was just by chance?

A: We looked in this area... first choice...

A: ...we like it... There is a lot of art or culture...here. ...they want to develop this area more... ...the [art and design] university is here. ...in this building there is an art school. ...two of the persons who were in the first group ...were founders of ...Alpha art school...

A: ...It was a coincidence. ...Many of the students from them are here, they have a room. That is why we were so fast full booked”(100-20-26-5:121-142) - sums up the coordinator of the community and of the Kolmas Kerros Association how they established their art studios.

“Q2: So they are a lot of like autodidacts?

A: Yes! I am ...also. I am actually from Helsinki School of Economics.

...A: 10 years ago... I have joined some artist course...

A: ...I always painted, but I never had time. ...when work... you never have time...

Q: You worked in private firms as economist. Than you decided - enough and stopped?

A: Like Tuja Jukkarinen, she is ...dentist. ...and I am an economist. And we have a joint exhibition in spring...(smiling). Because, we have the same background...

⁴⁹⁵ In the previous studio (complex) the lack of proper cleaning and the tenants’ chaotic behaviour contributed to a fire. The smoke even after many months was so disturbing that the initiators had to find an another location.

⁴⁹⁶ “A: ...And we have one girl from Spain but she lives in Finland. Then we have one girl from Estonia... and we have I think four Swedish speaking Finnish but still Finnish...”(100-20-26-5:79-81).

⁴⁹⁷ Some of them shifted to art by giving up their previous profession and carrier working as doctor or economist.

⁴⁹⁸ „We organise evenings where we invite speakers who make ...introduction... Prepare a subject ...we want to discuss ... We invite them from the University, from the Sibelius Academy...”(100-20-26-5:533-536).

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Q2: ...You have a ...technic ...just fantastic... It is something that many people will study for years ...in Academia, but you have done all this yourself.

A: I have done courses... I studied in... in Turku and ...in Soumilinnen ...But ...I feel ...really as a starter... I learn a lot every day”(100-20-26-5:396-427) - describes his engagement with art the former economist who became the coordinator of the community.

“A: ...we ...have young people here ...who are just graduated from school or even studying... ...we have ...strong group of more advanced ...like the person who is the oldest in our group. She is nice spirit here for us everyone...

Q: She is in a way helping others to develop...

Q2: and mentor...

A: She actually has started Alpha Art School. So she has been teaching and she is still teaching... She says: I have to teach and I always have to say something. It's nice to show ...she is so supportive, positive that nobody gets offended...

Q: So you are real community. ...you like each other not only as artists but as persons as well.

A: Yes, yes I think ...that is exactly the case”(100-20-26-5:283-295) - describes the coordinator the cooperative atmosphere among the community members.

“Q: So would you ready to help each other even in issues beyond art?

A: I think so. We are so good friends... We have one person who got ill... and he got fired from his job... he is better now but ...could not keep his room ...that empty room there. Actually, he was the chairman... We have been helping as much as we can... The association bought one of his paintings and we support him ...with our small money

Q: But it's not only money ...if you call, if you go to talk. Just to ask whether he is improving... ...really caring relation is much more important...”(100-20-26-5:377-385) - describes ways of mutual support among community members the coordinator.

The group members' daily kitchen table discussions about art and life facilitated to broaden their cooperation and started imperceptibly change the quality of their relations. Their relationships became increasingly caring and intimate, their daily conversations, common thinking and mutual learning turned to be the major source of their artistic inspiration. The team of occasional co-tenants gradually transformed into genuine community that served as enabler of and focal location for artistic creation - their most valued in life activity.

“A: ...we have the kitchen together where we meet and discuss art every day...

Q: Do you have daily meetings?

A: Yeah, well not organised, but...

Q: ...but everybody comes...

A: Yes! ...that is a nice area, we always ...try discussing something related to art...”(100-20-26-5:69-74).

“A: ...and of course ...in our discussions about art... we very often discuss our life”(100-20-26-5:386) - describes their daily kitchen tables discussions the coordinator of community.

“A: I have tried [to paint at home] in the beginning, but it was impossible. And especially because I have been working with groups of customers and had a lot of connections in my work... And suddenly I left it and... I tried to [paint] at home and that was impossible... I could not ...that's why I am so happy about this...

Q: So the spirit, the atmosphere gives you an inspiration? That's why you are coming here. Not only to have the physical space but having community feeling and enabling...

A: Yes! I look forward to meet them every day! I look forward them. These people here..."(100-20-26-5:512-518) – 'confesses' the coordinator about crucial importance of their community as (most important) source of their creative inspiration.

The members relatively quickly recognized the importance and special value of the emerging community. In order to keep closeness and intimacy of relationships they decided to limit its size. By 'capping' the number of group members they simultaneously started intense collaboration with other (groups of) artists active in Arabianranta. They offered and provided help for candidates applying for membership in "Kolmas Kerros" to establish instead their own associations and be located in the same building. They started to cooperate in various ways, organized discussions and training events together, arranged common exhibitions, and coordinated collective marketing efforts.

"Q: Anybody who is interested can join you or you are selecting...?"

A: We select, because we have more people than we can take.... we are an association ...we don't have any employees... Everything is done by ourselves... and by working together... the person has to fit in... we interview...

A: ...then we discuss and ...look for references...

A: ...there is a lack of working place for reasonable price and this area is very attractive, so... a lot of request is... ..Actually when we started we wanted only ...a part of this, half about ...

A: ...First month we were full and we only wanted to have about 21... And next month ...the guy who owns this said: Hey, take also the other area because you have demand for it... We said OK. So we are now ...42, I think...

A: Actually, there is more free space in this house but ...Even this is already fairly big ... We don't want to have anymore... But we support some people who are looking for...may be putting a gallery here in other or a similar [place in the district]..."(100-20-26-5:13-33) - explains the coordinator of Association their selective approach by accepting candidates and carry out extensive cooperation with other artist organizations.

"A: ...in our board we have one person who is responsible for rooms and she has another person who is helping in the interviews. So they more or less do the interviews and decide...

Q: You delegated to these two persons to make decisions...

A: Of course we ask around if somebody knows [the new candidate], it's not such a big circle. So if somebody says: "No, no! I do not want to have that [person]..." - we have to be more careful..."(100-20-26-5:52-58) - explains the coordinator how they ensure unanimous support of community members when accepting new candidates.

The Association members rather quickly realised that the more colourful and vivid is the artistic activity in Arabianranta and the stronger is the districts' image as art and design centre the better could be their collective 'market prospects'. I.e. they acknowledged that the more intense is the presence of artists and various types of art the bigger their collective 'competitive advantage'" can be. By overcoming initial fears they started to compete in

making proposals and contributing to collective efforts to enhance interest of potential visitors⁴⁹⁹ toward the “art and design city”. The Association initiated ‘formalized’ cooperation with artist groups also from other districts and parts of Finland and prepared common funding applications to exhibit their work abroad⁵⁰⁰. Their Association initiated also longer-term partnerships, they aim to employ together an expert who could handle collective grant applications and contact potential donors.

“A: Now I think that [it is] to everyone’s advantage...if we have the more communication and the more people come here... It’s everyone’s advantage that people ...come and we have different kind of art and different price level ...people can afford... ..if you have to pay 3000 or 4000 for a painting, it’s a lot to ...everyone. ...you can pay ...couple of hundreds and get some paintings from us. That’s why we are trying to... There is a group of person... who wanted to apply room from us but we are full so I said: Why don’t you start a similar association here next [to us] or in the 6 floor [which] is free? And I will support as much as I can. And she is may be doing. ...I think it’s only good... The more artists we are here the more people are come in... The more advertisement [is created]...

Q: You don’t have envy you don’t see them as a competitor. Even you are ready to help them to establish their own community near of yours...

A: [Earlier I thought]... may be we get empty rooms... maybe there is not enough demand for two of this. But now I don’t think so! I think it’s only good. It’s only... positive for everyone”(100-20-26-5:301-314) - explains the coordinator their altered perception of competition allowing seeing other artists as potential partners rather than competitors.

“A: ...The positive thing in our association is that ...we have very nice climate. ...May be because we have been pretty strict with whom we accept... Or we have been lucky to be able to select a little bit. But we...have very nice atmosphere; we have very nice discussions... We don’t... Normally in artist groups there are envies and competition⁵⁰¹... but we are sharing ...everything ...Every day when I come here ...I think: is it still here... is our spirit still here... and it has been ...and it is good...

Q2: Perhaps your artists ...have reached certain ...level of maturity toward their own art and they have the self-esteem and the confidence”(100-20-26-5:270-278) - explains the coordinator the inspiring impact of their readiness to share life and art in their community.

The community played growingly focal role in daily life of its members⁵⁰². Beyond providing good art studios the community offered caring and creative atmosphere and relationships

⁴⁹⁹ More than 500.000 tourists visited Arabianranta in 2008 and most of them were interested primarily in art and design - upon the director of the local service company (100-20-3-5).

⁵⁰⁰ “A: ...we are 13 and we try to take exhibitions also outside Finland and we also apply also places abroad...”(100-20-26-5:712-713).

⁵⁰¹ “Q2: ...that is really important ...that you are able ...as older and as a senior artist to encourage the younger ones. ...this is not always the case... Often the senior ones don’t want to encourage young ones because they are threatened from competition... And the fact that you have so many like senior artist here who embrace newcomers and beginners. It’s really admirable...”(100-20-26-5:296-300).

⁵⁰² The community helped to ‘defend’ the members’ time from requests to participate in ‘non-artistic’ activities. “A: ...I am on purpose quite selfish ...I think I need to be selfish. Because my time... If it’s not from 8 to 6 ...everyone can ...say: Ok! You can do! Come on here and help me ...do this and that for me. So I have to say: No! My time is my time. I am selfish...

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serving as growingly important source of artistic inspiration and personal development. Such cooperative and inspiring atmosphere is highly valued and is seen as quite unique achievement since in art groups phenomena like competition, envy and personal rivalry, are quite commonplace.

“Q: So it’s really very nice that you can help each other in developing the community. It’s something really admirable...”

A: Yes it is. And as I said... on every morning when I come here I have to listen that: is it still here. It is good...

Q: You wish that it would be continued

A: It’s so good. ... We always... now it’s very empty because people are still on holidays. But normally we are... 10 to 20 people...here. ...who works come in the evening ...So it’s busy and crowded and nice...

Q: And it creates a kind of special atmosphere of relations...”(100-20-26-5:320-329) - describes the inspiring atmosphere of their community the coordinator.

The members of the Kolmas Kerros Association created a genuine community, which is characterised rather with coo-petition (Brandenburger and Nalebuff, 1996) and even with an altered, participative pattern of competition. The community life became the crucial scene and facilitator of the members’ artistic maturation, individual transformation, and personality development. Beyond multiple useful “services” the major advantage and unique value is the community’s contribution to the members’ artistic creativity enabling their empowering⁵⁰³ personal self-fulfilment and self-activation and improving their life quality.

“A: ...it was not that easy ...I have changed since I started to... more get involved into art...

...A: I am not the same person as I was... That is a little bit friction here but it is OK!

Q: Personal transformation you made?

A: Yes! Sounds like...”(100-20-26-5:457-463) - sums up the coordinator his personal experience of the transformational effect of their community.

Q: Does it happen that you are coming during the night just because you have the inspiration?

A: Yes, yes! I stay here all night ...

Q2: I think that the spontaneity is the best thing...

A: Yeah!

Q2: You have the courage to follow that feeling ...In a way you have to be selfish because otherwise you would not [be capable to] do art...”(100-20-26-5:464-481) - explains the coordinator the importance of the community to provide inspirative atmosphere in multiple ways.

⁵⁰³ “Q: So ...estrangement is really over for you...I mean that kind of pressures of life that make you unhappy, which can’t give you the fulfilment... You released yourself from all these embracing negative aspects and now you are having your own free life... Having a good community where you have the spiritual or inspirative support and that makes you develop yourself permanently and ...be happy! Just be happy!

A: Yeah! Personally I am... as a person I am lucky. ...I don’t have the necessity to sell because I survive. I get my porridge anyway. Of course I am happy if somebody buys my work but...

Q: You are not even financially under pressure. You have ...freedom in that sense also.

A: I am paying for myself...”(100-20-26-5:590-600) - describes his personal empowerment the coordinator.

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“A: ...I think the biggest problem in getting [away] from the business world to that type of work is that in the business ...you are ...not actually living in that moment. You never live in that moment. You are always in the past or in the future...

A: And in ...art you have to do that here, now, in this moment. And that is not easy to change!

Q: You are really living in creation. That is the moment of the creation.

A: ...That is a beautiful second when you succeed staying there... [You have to] learn more and more, but it is not easy.

Q: So, do you have something similar to what is called flow or the happiness of creation? Do you have flow experience?

A: Yes! It is rare but it is really beautiful. When... somehow you notice that... Ok I have painted twelve hours but ...even did not notice that the time has gone... just doing... you really feel that you have been in that...

Q: It's a kind of timelessness when you are in the flow...

...Q: Would you accept by any condition to return to be an economist?

A: No. I did not regret it a second. Not a second. I could not do it. Not any more...”(100-20-26-5:482-503) - emphasizes coordinator the importance of experience flow and the empowering effects of creativity and personal change⁵⁰⁴ that engagement with art may offer.

4/ Life-sharing in Silvia koti⁵⁰⁵

Volunteering care-givers and experts support and heal severely handicapped kids by sharing challenges of daily life in a community called Silvia koti. This community is part of a broader Finnish network⁵⁰⁶ that cooperates with members of the international Camphill movement⁵⁰⁷ The volunteers' efforts are (co-)financed by normative support from the Finnish state and aim to create suitable accommodation, work and support services to enable handicapped people of different age groups to sustain their daily life.

The children living in the Silvia koti community attend a Waldorf school⁵⁰⁸ that follows special pedagogy facilitating creativity. The Waldorf school catalyses artistic and other “non-specialized skills” focused activities, since the children's creativity may appear on various ways. The community focuses on caring and cooperative relations, and aims to establish the children's integrity, the wholeness of their personality since the development of particular,

⁵⁰⁴ “Q: ...in a way I have envy to you... because you ...really do what you like...

Q: You are engaged and... free to do what you really liketo fulfil yourself...that is really amazing!

A: That is true! That is exactly...Yeah!”(100-20-26-5:353-357).

⁵⁰⁵ The case describes how volunteers' daily life in a community facilitates to heal handicapped kids and simultaneously develop their own personality. The interview with the coordinator of community serves as the primary source of case presentation.

⁵⁰⁶ The network follows principles of the Steiner school and participates in international Camphill movement.

⁵⁰⁷ The network consists of residential communities and schools that provide support for education, employment, and daily lives of adults and children with developmental disabilities, mental health problems or other special needs. Over 100 Camphill communities operate in more than 20 countries across Europe, North America, Southern Africa and Asia that aim to promote social change based on principles of anthroposophy (Wikipedia Camphill movement https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camphill_Movement Retrieved on 22 February 2016)

⁵⁰⁸ The ideal of the Waldorf pedagogy is the individual with moral, ethical, value based activity. It sees communities as domains where the members' cooperative interactions may facilitate the emergence and enhancement of these personality treats.

specialized skills alone would be insufficient to heal. To develop the children's holistic personality the volunteers aim to enhance their creativity, thinking, feelings while the community facilitates improvements in human relations that feedback with changes in value perception and growingly lateral character of power.

A: ...to find ...creativity ...is the most important...in Waldorf pedagogic ...you help the child to [become an] individual with moral, ethical, value based activity, when ...she is adult. ...the wisdom [is to]...know...what ...to do with environment...to help...creativity to grow...

A: ...We don't measure [creativity]...in Waldorf schools ...a child is creative and it comes out on different ways...

A: ...you can see ...how he develops thinking ... social relations ...feelings. And you can see ...in painting or singing, in musical activities ...you see the child [as a] whole. ...it is not clever to take out...

A: ...one property, and measure that ...you help her to develop [as a human being] ...the idea is not [to focus on] special skills, for instance mathematics⁵⁰⁹...

A: ...you take care of the wholeness"(100-20-4-5:18-53) - explains the volunteer coordinator the crucial role of creativity that may appear in multiple forms and ways.

The community members participate on equal footing in dialogic co-creation of solutions in frame of so called "child conferences". Their structured dialogues capitalize on - and simultaneously generate - mutual care and empathy, awareness and inspiration what enable the subsequent emergence of tacit and explicit knowledge. The caring and empathic relationships may generate flow experience what may facilitate to enact, share and multiply emotional, psychological, mental and intellectual, i.e. "soft" resources catalysing co-creation.

A: ...it is always a creative process when you think how you can help this child ...we call it...child conference. ...the parents who take care and...the teacher ...therapist ...doctor can be there. ...we come together ...the idea is: how we have seen the child in different daily situations. How has he behaved and what is our...

A: ...observation. And then these observations come together. It is a ...dialogical process.

C: ...you have different roles ...everybody is somehow giving elements to the solution...

Q: So this is the very co-creation.

A: Yeah!(100-20-4-5:279-303) - explains the expert how their structured dialogues may co-create solutions, improve the treatment of the children.

The community members appreciate relationships with high quality and perceive them as the most valuable aspect of life. The cooperative relationships and atmosphere interplay with association-prone institutional changes and facilitate alterations in value (and wealth) perception. The volunteers' cooperation in turn facilitates the community members' mutually empowering empathy.

⁵⁰⁹ Actually the entire Finnish school system avoids overemphasizing development of particular specialized skills in early years of education. This approach leads to better results later in developing specialised skills as the Pisa reports indicate.

“A: ...the main question is ...meeting between two people: how they build ...real connection.

Q: ...permanent interactions?

A: Yes... That is ...a fundamental issue... ...what happens, what really happens between people when they meet each other? Can I see you, who you are ...we all the time try to create [genuine relationships] ...the human relationship is something else than only social games or following the social order...

Q: In which sense is it different?

A: ...we are discussing three different levels of consciousness. ...[the first] where you think ...[the next is] imagination. And the [third] level is one kind of empathy between people...

A: ...[in] a moment ...you are in her situation ...the empathy is real”(100-20-4-5:98-120) - explains the coordinator how the community members’ relationships may become emphatic.

By participating in and contributing to collaborative efforts the individuals promote the common success of the community - what in turn makes individual members to feel successful and happy. The immersion and mutual flow experience that enhances co-creation simultaneously transforms the participants’ thinking and personality since their participation in cooperation and co-creation helps to rebalance all aspects of life. I.e. the emphatic and caring relationships among the community members may offer inspiring environment enabling empowering individuation and happiness.

In Silvia koti the handicapped kids, their ‘second-parents’, teachers, doctors, various experts and volunteer caretakers literally share their daily life. This life sharing means that the success of the community the members simultaneously perceive as their personal success. In truly life-sharing communities the participation in cooperation bringing common success enables the personal happiness of (all) participants. Since the genuine collaboration is mutually healing and transformational it is intertwined with caring and emphatic relationships which facilitate also the care-takers’ empowerment, individuation and life-quality improvements. The collaborative relationships help the volunteering “second-parents” to transform and develop, to “heal” also themselves⁵¹⁰, i.e. to enhance their holistic personality.

“A: I have worked ...five years in Sylvia-koti and ...I have seen what is that work [in reality], how hard it is with those difficult children, with that [kind of] aggressiveness... Day after day you work there and you [also] see the possibility... It is ...at same time a developing process to yourself. ...[also] in the international Camphill dialogue conference [I could] realize ...that all these almost two hundred people are doing this work every day in different circumstances, with different questions, but all connected with quite difficult children, or ...adults... and they just do it. There must be some kind of knowledge ...that you have been invited to that work. And you realize that it is your own development process in this life. And that is also what young adults are looking for nowadays, they can realize ...get that kind of connection...

⁵¹⁰ These conditions facilitate to overcome tacit “problems and sufferings” – also the once about the individual may be un-aware and those existence does not recognize even for oneself.

A: Intuition and enthusiasm....

A: ...this warms me up. That is very important.

C: ...they feel that they can relate to their own mission...

A: Yes!”(100-20-4-5:388-404) - explains the coordinator how mutually caring relationships facilitate the caretakers own personal development by creating their motivation to cooperate.

“A: ...[Silvia koti] is a life-sharing community ...we do not sell ...our services. ...It is not a part of the modern care industry with all kind of ...services. It’s something else, life-sharing...[cooperating, acting] together.

A: ...[you volunteer to]...be at service in a wonderful way. It is the task of Camphill movement all around the world.

Q: Is it only to serve others or those who serve the others is also served by the others?

...

A: ...it is one kind of [experiment] here ...for instance...I’m working very much ...and I’m not asking how much money I get ...I put a little bit more into the community all the time. And I have realized, and all of us have realized, that when you have that...attitude [when] you are not asking what do you get, but you ask, how can you help, where is your expertise needed ...when the whole community is successful then you get ...what you need. ...I have need of spiritual care, not ...money.

Q: This spiritual care is delivered by the kids, by colleagues? I mean it’s coming from the kids, it’s coming from...

A: From the relationships ...when they are real relationships.

Q: How you differ real from not real relationship?

A: ...the feeling of belonging ...it is...very important to me. ...then all those moments when we have difficult problems to find an answer... It is one kind of developing process or creative process. And I can realize that something really happens, that we have found each other, we are together. And we ...respect and...

C: Value ...each other...

A: ...there is no ...hierarchy that we have in many organizations. In these moments where we meet each other and ...create something new ...we are equal... ...we really meet as equal. And every question, every idea is important. And that ...is very meaningful ...for me. And it is real, it is not only [lip service]...”(100-20-4-5:232-278) - describes the meaning and powerful motivating effect of life-sharing the volunteer coordinator from Silvia koti.

The feeling of belonging is a crucial personal outcome by allowing once becoming “person in community” (Whitehead, 1929; Cobb, 2007; Nonaka et al, 2008). The participation in everyday collaboration by enabling to fulfil genuine needs including self-fulfilment, self-activation and self-transcendence (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006) simultaneously regenerates and amplifies the volunteers’ motivation for active participation and contribution. The caring relationships interplay with association-prone institutional changes enhancing the institutional primacy of win-win approach and by simultaneously reshaping value and wealth perception transforming the (improving quality of) relationships into focal value. These institutional-relational alterations may also feedback with the increasing awareness about the

interdependence. I.e. they enhance social and even biosphere consciousness⁵¹¹ that feeds back with recognizing responsibility as part of the “grounding, deep, basic qualities of humanity”(100-20-4-5:764).

“A: My idea is that ...human being is a spiritual being. And the development of human being is to become more and more conscious. ...it is self-consciousness that I can find one day. And for instance, responsibility, [also] belongs there.

Q: Responsibility towards whom?

A: To another human being, to nature and everything that you meet.

Q: So you think that responsibility has a social meaning. It's not only self-responsibility, but responsibility toward the surrounding society and physical environment...

A: Yeah, because ...a human being is an individual ...we ...need ...freedom. But we are also social beings we cannot develop without each other. ...there is ...responsibility...together. It is not either or, either freedom or responsibility it is all the time both.

Q: And this is not a one-way relation, because even when you are giving, you are receiving something. So it's a permanent interplay...

A: Yeah, all the time...”(100-20-4-5:361-378) - explains her broader perception of the link between human responsibility and freedom the volunteer coordinator working in Silvia koti.

The communities’ association-prone relational-institutional constellations may affect and impact also their broader environment in many ways. The experience of Silvia koti indicates that the lessons that the life-sharing communities, their activities offer are studied and implemented by other organizations primarily those dealing with education and social services. The communities may create partnerships that unfold as co-creation through vivid multidimensional dialogue and where participants mutually influence each other. These interactions simultaneously may catalyse changes and quality shifts in broader public culture and relationships, i.e. they bring about the communities’ capability of social agency.

The institutional alterations may interplay with wide horizontalization tendencies, including the growing role and significance of lateral, sharing power even in charity. Since the donors often want to exercise power in traditional way the Camphill-movement, where Sylvia koti also participates, carries out significant efforts to generate institutional changes enabling more effective collaboration by training both donors and beneficiaries⁵¹². Common efforts may bring about the understanding that effects and effectiveness of donations should not be perceived and measured only in one dimension, simply in “money-term”. The cooperation and mutual efforts ensuring knowledge co-creation and transfer, generating institutional

⁵¹¹ I.e. it catalyses the understanding that we as individuals and also collectively belong to the nature - and are responsible for the sustainability of our broader environment.

⁵¹² The networking among communities and their members facilitates the dissemination of institutional and relational changes. Such feed backing transformations enable to find solutions for numerous problems - including also wicked ones.

changes by altering ‘local cultures’ on both sides may bring about genuine improvements in effectiveness⁵¹³. The co-creation of institutional changes may facilitate the co-generation of new capabilities at recipient side. These capabilities in turn may facilitate the mobilization and multiplication of locally available resources and through transformation of the (local) development trajectory may allow broader spectrum of life-quality improvements.

5/ Neighbourhood Association - professional enabler and “extended life sharing”

The Neighbourhood Association was established as umbrella organization of the local civil society in Arabianranta (a district of Helsinki). The Association went through multiple profound transformations and became capable to ‘take over’ and carry out systematically the professional enabling of self-organizing by focusing on mobilization of locally available resources. The professional enabling facilitated to spread self-organizing cooperation among the residents by facilitating their ‘extended life sharing’ and generating also model changes at district level. Due to these developments the Neighbourhood Association may serve as a sample-case demonstrating the communities’ multidimensional transformational capacities and effects. Since the subchapter 3.2 offers detailed description of developments in the Neighbourhood Association in frame of the narrative concept creation this section does not elaborate in details on this particular case in order to avoid unnecessary duplications.

Five from the explored 21 case-communities belong to the cluster where volunteer cooperation among members unfolds as genuine “*life sharing*” - upon the apt expression of an interviewee from Silvia koti (100-20-4-5:238). Indeed the volunteers share most aspects of their daily life including activities, tasks and resources, values and principles. The members perceive their community’s achievements as motivating personal success and their relationships are characterised by mutual care and empathy. The contributions to the cooperative efforts facilitate to (re-)create and develop the volunteers’ holistic personality and autonomous self, and enable their mutual empowerment. The (members of) *Silvia koti* and the *Active Seniors* planned and consciously established their daily life driven by cooperation and sharing. The *Artist community* transformed almost imperceptibly into a genuine life-sharing

⁵¹³ It is not always easy to convince donors to give (more) freedom in “investing”, mobilizing their donations by allowing finding ways that consider increasingly the recipients’ point of view and proposals. The recipients in turn must also seek and obtain new knowledge and make significant efforts to enhance the effectiveness of (the usage of the) donations.

community although it was established as a loose group of co-tenants⁵¹⁴. The *users of services* enabled by the digital platform of *care TV* first established personal contacts⁵¹⁵ and common daily activities in virtual space by gradually extending them also into the physical space. The shifts were simultaneously outcomes and drivers of profound transformations in their relationships by generating a true life-sharing community. The *Neighbourhood Association* in Arabianranta went through multiple, transformations heading often into diametrically opposite directions. It succeeded to firmly (re-)establish itself as the umbrella organization of the local civil society. Moreover, its board took over and systematically carried out the professional enabling of the residents' self-organizing by affecting and reshaping the development trajectory of the entire district. I.e. it enabled the local civil society to launch self-organizing at mass level and operate in a sense as a large-scale life sharing community.

In life-sharing communities, caring relationships and volunteer participation in collaborative efforts are perceived as the most valued, focal contribution⁵¹⁶. Mutual care, empathy, and creativity prove to be crucial resources, which are multipliable and self-multiplying. These special, 'soft' resources are non-depletable and non-rivalrous - similar to knowledge, information and creativity - and their unique qualities enable to expand and upgrade the collective resource base. The community members share improved life quality which their cooperative efforts' generate' and their relationships' collaborative and mutually caring character affects also their contacts with "non-members". These communities by "sharing life" affect also their broader environment in various ways, i.e. they carry out social agency. The cooperating community members may co-create robust empowering capacity that may capitalize on diverse patterns of professional enabling - as the next part describes.

Professional enabling

6/ Arabianranta - a XXI century virtual village⁵¹⁷

Arabianranta is at the same time the oldest and one of the newest districts of Helsinki. This historic place where the city was established in the XVI Century⁵¹⁸ in the early 2000 became

⁵¹⁴ Their aim originally was find affordable studios for artistic activities. However, the emerging community became a crucial source of mutual inspiration, the most important and valued dimension of their life.

⁵¹⁵ In some cases relatives and friends who did not see each other for a long time re-met and recognised each other through participating in diverse programmes through care TV.

⁵¹⁶ "We use our best resources, which is each other!" - as aptly formulated by an interviewee from Neighbourhood Houses in Australia, as quoted by Stillman (2006:272).

⁵¹⁷ The case describes the development of the local civil society in Arabianranta. The two interviews - made two years apart - with the director of the local service company acting also as coordinator of the volunteering professional enablers serves as primary source of the case presentation.

the venue for a large-scale pilot for innovative, long term and district-wide complex rehabilitation and development programs⁵¹⁹. The related projects aimed to facilitate various aspects of the emerging knowledge society at local level - including economy, urban infrastructure, transport and mobility, education and culture.

The facilitation of the local civil society's development was a focal task of the program. Both the Helsinki city council and the central government supported the endeavour aiming to catalyse the diversity among the residents. As a consequence students and pensioners; families where a member suffers from sclerosis multiplex and single parents with children; migrant families with multi-coloured cultural background; higher income families owning their houses and lower income families receiving subsidized financing or rents are equally present in the district. The city proposed cooperation for members of the Active Seniors Association who intended to elaborate and test in practise a new, community framed and self-organizing model of elderly care and supported the idea to build also innovative apartment-office complexes since many residents of Arabianranta have flexible working time, carry out creative jobs or act through their own SMEs⁵²⁰. Many innovative solutions similar to the courts' open structure⁵²¹ facilitated active (self-) communication and growing self-organization efforts unfolding among members of the local civil society. The presence of the state-of-the-art information-communication technologies allowed 'would be' residents accessing the website of their future houses before the actual start of their construction⁵²².

The district development followed the art-rule⁵²³ and the fibre-rule⁵²⁴, which served as important tools turning into practice a triple vision combining images of an art and design city, a high tech hub, and a XXI Century virtual village. The residents of Arabianranta have developed a strong identity merging these images, for example they often identified their house with the pieces of art located on the building's façade or in its court.

⁵¹⁸ The Swedish King Gustav Vasa founded Helsinki in 1550 on the mouth of the Vantaa River.

⁵¹⁹ Besides the 10 000 inhabitants 8000 employees and 6000 students also are present daily in the district (2010) http://www.arabianranta.fi/en/info/now_and_in_the_future/

⁵²⁰ However the construction regulation in force prevented to implement the concept and the necessary legal changes should have to be approved by two consecutive parliaments.

⁵²¹ The courts can be structured upon the special needs of the inhabitants - including blind people – since the ownership on the land in the courts does not belong to the developers.

⁵²² The web-site provides connectivity allowing effective cooperation among the (would be) neighbours during the whole construction period.

⁵²³ The City of Helsinki requires all developers acting in the Arabianranta area to use 1-2 % of their investments for (financing) works of art. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabianranta>

⁵²⁴ The information network (arabianranta.fi) that ADC is constantly developing covers the whole district. It is a functional, easy and cost efficient 10/10M data network that provides broadband access in every home. http://www.arabianranta.fi/en/info/now_and_in_the_future/

The district in a sense became a genuine Living Laboratory⁵²⁵ catalysing and capitalising on various open innovation efforts while the robust presence of art and design generated spectacular increase in tourism⁵²⁶ by contributing to economic development of the district. The local service company - the Art and Design City Helsinki Ltd. (ADC) - carried out decade long program management and plaid multidimensional enabling role. The ADC was established as a partnership of the representatives of all interested and relevant stakeholders from the residents till the central government. The director and the experts of the ADC acted also as voluntary professional enablers who successfully facilitated for more than a decade the development of the local civil society and the residents' self-organization.

"A: ...our idea is ...to collect these special groups and to make ...something more about it as a whole"(100-20-3-5:264-265) - explains the director of ADC adding that their aim was to improve "the common goods, common services"(100-20-3-5:304).

"A: ...what we are looking is ...specific service ...we are ...making a benefit for the residents ...we can buy large amounts...internet connections. So we are like the whole sellers... in each house this ten megabytes' symmetric data connection ...would cost ...something like 60 or 70 euros ...because it is company level, company standard...connection. ...people are saying that it's free... They...don't get it totally free, it's very cheap... But [they feel] ...that it's free"(100-20-3-5:314-321) - explains on a practical example the director of ADC how they can be at service of the local community.

The early access to the broadband enabled and catalysed the residents' vivid (self-) communication (Castells, 2009) and the (alterations in the) internet traffic exhibited the "heart rate" of Arabianranta, which possessed typical phases:

"A: ...we try to give the [access to Internet] services one year to one and half year before people...move in. ...the discussions on the sites...rise very rapidly ...they can start to discuss and they become neighbours ...has somebody been there, is there some problem ...when they move in ...three or four months the discussions are very high, but then ...like after the war. ...you are so tired ...fighting with the builders ...it starts to go down ...discussions are fading... And...again something like...a half or one year [later], it's rising, but the content is totally different. ...more ...questions about day-care, traffic, schools, shops, services..."(100-20-3-5:397-418) - describes the director of the service company how the changing internet traffic reflects typical phases of the residents' daily life.

Although the decade-long complex development program brought about evident and well-visible success in many fields its positive impact on the human relationships was perceived as

⁵²⁵ Following the official "roll out" of the European Network of Living Laboratories during the Finnish EU presidency in 2006 Arabianranta also formally became its "founding member".

⁵²⁶ Around 500.000 visitors arrived yearly to Arabianranta who were mainly interested in art and design, and partly in history - since this was the area where the ancient Helsinki was established in the XVI Century.

its most valued outcome. The enhanced openness and tolerance, the readiness to cooperate and the improving relationships became the important characteristics of the daily life in this XXI Century virtual village. "...it is plus ten per cent tolerance here"⁵²⁷ compared to other districts of Helsinki and other Finish locations - points out the director of the ADC. Indeed, the residents are proud of having a strong presence of the art and culture in their daily life, living in harmony with the nature, collaborating with residents of the nearby neighbourhoods and improve their (collective) life quality by actively cooperating with each other.

"A: I think it's very much to do with this image of art and creativity and culture, and ...we implement art in everything. ...everybody has to invest in arts. ...in the final [phase] we are going to have 1000 pieces of art and about 200 artists making the art... So it's going to be a quite big art park ...what...makes...tolerance. ...because of...art and...culture the tolerance to accept differences is much...higher than in...other places of metropolitan area. [Here we have] houses for disabled youngsters and multiplex sclerosis people ...we are going to have house for deaf [and] ...blind people ...we have...this common ground, so one innovation is that ...in Arabianranta the builder owns only the yard, which is under the house and we own all...common places. ...it makes much easier...special housing ...we can plan with builders...house for the blinds and the deaf ...it's much ...easier to make this yard suitable for them..."(100-20-3-5:209-231) - explains the director of the local service company how the pervasive presence of art, design and culture interplays with vivid cooperation and enhanced tolerance.

This district has a favourable image as a safe and pleasant place and it spreads through the word of mouth by generating its attractiveness, creating growing demand and higher prices for the apartments. The elevated prices 'instantiate' the abundant social value and capital and enable the residents to transform them into economic value and "financial capital".

"A: ...that is very interesting... ...the Neighbourhood Association and the [volunteer cooperation] ...have ...economic

A: effect also...

A: ...they are quite big for the persons and also for the area ...this community sense that we have...

A: developed together is raising the flats' prices...

Q: There is no crime... what you are doing is ...permanently improving the quality of life. ...if you would want to buy such quality of life ...you could not do that ...or you would have to pay ten times more money to get a fraction of it... ...In fact you can't create it through money. It is something more... ...that is ...the real issue, if you want a miracle..."(100-20-29-5:1112-1134) - sums up the coordinator of the renewed board of the Neighbourhood Association how the social value may generate "hard market value" as unintended side-effect.

⁵²⁷ "I think that the tolerance is the [most] important... ...the image of art ...culture, image of Arabianranta as place of artists. ...it's plus ten per cent tolerance here. ...you can see it very well ...if you are looking at the residents let's say on their colour of skin ...many different cultures ...different languages and it's very mixed"(100-20-3-5:233-238) - points out the director of the local service company.

In Arabianranta the decade long structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006)⁵²⁸ feed backing with systematic professional enabling brought about successful developments in various fields, including the activity of the local civil society. The residents' growing self-organizing facilitated broader bottom up changes which aggregated into the transformation of the district's development model:

"A: ...We have seen the development. After these...years the community level is very active ...the civil association of the residents ...is very active ...the level of activity is much higher than in other parts of Helsinki. It's very easy to show and measure..."(100-20-3-5:720-722).

"A: ...we can show the [number] of happenings...going here ...without pressure and without money. ...people start doing happenings around sustainable developments [through] joint [efforts]. We can show the statistic...[reflecting vivid] usage of club facilities ...if you compare ...the [number] of people living here to the happenings the ratio is quite high"(100-20-3-5:768-771) - describes the coordinator of the volunteer professional enablers some aspects of the residents' growing self-organizing⁵²⁹.

"A: In some extent you can develop ...self-organizing but I would say ...there are ...limits also. There might be an optimum that on [certain]...size of area...would be at least one person who is dedicated to leadership [and has the] knowledge... I would say that critical mass is about 10-15 thousand people and ...if...speaking [about] the development of a new area that is taking 10 years to get...ready. ...After that ...it is working like self-organizing model. But you need this 10 years leadership in some extent"(100-20-3-5:1124-1129) - describes a few salient 'qualitative components' of the structured self-organization the director of ADC.

Changes similar to growing activity of the local civil society, the new responsibilities of the experts of ADC⁵³⁰, and the rapid tightening of the budgetary financing in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis⁵³¹ mutually catalysed each other and generated an overarching trend-shift in the district. These feed backing alterations interplayed with the Neighbourhood Association's self-transformation into the umbrella organization of the local civil society which systematically catalysed the residents' enhanced self-organizing. The residents' mass-level

⁵²⁸ Leadbeater (2006) analyses Curitiba, a Brazilian city where city council and its institutions carry out proactive enabling of cooperative development efforts. They systematically generate initiatives and capacity building that facilitates emerging mass level self-organization driving successful development processes.

⁵²⁹ "A: ...Somalian and Russian...are the biggest minorities at the moment ...for example Somalians...are building their own communities in Somalian language in Finland. Previously ...they were using a lot of internet but they were visiting...Somalian sites in Somalia. But now they are building their own Somalian language sites [in] Helsinki ...now there is more information on their own language. And of course the problem is not the young people but the old people. When they came they don't really know even their own language because probably they didn't read, they didn't know...to write. ...their children...[interpret] for their ...parents. But now ...they are certain services on their own language"(100-20-3-5:865-875) - explains the director of ADC how self-organizing affects the life of the migrant communities.

⁵³⁰ As a consequence of the success of the pilot-program in Arabianranta the experts of ADC got the new task to disseminate the experience and knowledge in new district development programs of Helsinki, primarily in Kalasatama and Jatkasaary.

⁵³¹ Due to budgetary tightening the rather generous financing of the innovative efforts rapidly shrank and halted.

self-organizing became the developments' new driver catalysing vivid changes and their accumulation into broader transformations unfolding in this district-wide Living Laboratory. These changes aggregated into a new development model which smoothly replaced in the district the decade long dominance of the Scandinavian variant of structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006)⁵³² capitalizing on and presupposing the generous financing and services of the welfare state.

"A: ...big dilemma and the big problem for us is that ...mainly the city is putting resources in this ...work, but ...because we are in the middle of depression, the city economy, as the whole government economy is very weak...

A: ...We don't get any money from the state... We can cope, but we cannot put any new resources. And the problem is that now we [finish our work in] Arabianranta. Now we are expending to new areas⁵³³. The problem is...the big shortage of new resources in the new areas. ...now all the resources go in routines. We can't any more start new developments. And it means ...especially on the Living Laboratory side, if you would like to test some new things and to make some new developments it's even harder than before ...our money was dedicated in one place and quite small amount went on...routines. Now we are more like working [upon routine]..."(100-20-3-5:723-734) - explains the director of ADC how decreasing resourcing impedes their efforts to create innovative solutions.

The Neighbourhood Association successfully took over the professional enabler role from the ADC. It led to tensions also in personal context since the structured self-organization was connected with rather paternalistic approach on behalf of the volunteering professional enablers as their coordinator explains:

"Q: ...you enabled enough the local community of Arabianranta. They can really take on their self-organization in more fields if I understand you properly...

A: ...this is now strong enough and it has an identity and has strong self-organizing... It is like your own child. You have to let it go somewhere, some day... From my side I don't have time and resources, but on the other hand ...it is on the edge of some phase. It does not need guidance. I don't have to be the father anymore. So [it] is enough from me. I just look what the children are doing"(100-20-3-5:1130-1136) - offers a subjective ex-post summary of structured self-organization its volunteer coordinator.

⁵³² Leadbeater (2006) analyses Curitiba, a Brazilian city where city council and its institutions carry out proactive enabling of cooperative development efforts. They systematically generate initiatives and capacity building that facilitates emerging mass level self-organization driving successful development processes.

⁵³³ "A: Well, in fact we are doing it ...It's more like transferring the 'silent knowledge' that we do with project managers... For example I meet today the project managers from Jatkasaary, yesterday we have met from Kalasatama. So I believe that there is a...building up the capacity... But the problem is that because ...all the project leaders ...are city officials ...they don't live there ...is only their job...for that time. So the more important is ...what we did here ...the...challenge is in Kalasatama and Jatkasaary - to connect ...people who move in among the first ...and select...who could be the first leaders...who create these self-organizing systems... These are self-organizing, but you have to find ...certain persons who have the leading capacity ...that is...crucial... ...they are not working for you, they are...not your organization, but...you can't communicate with all the 10 thousand people ...you have to define: ...these are...crucial persons and try...with them build this self-organization"(100-20-3-5:1188-1199) - describes the volunteering professional enabler the 'snowball effect' that the structured self-organization aims to launch through the new complex district development programs.

“A: ...I think that the worst, ...ugliest, the not so nice situation was something ...2-3 years ago when there were so many people that...made...their own association... And I have found out that was the teen age time... It was difficult to me to understand that they are struggling because they want to make it as their own. Because this was my creation, for me it was difficult to understand that I have to let it go. Because it is not any more my decision or my creation - it's something they are now creating by themselves. That was for me lesson to learn and hard to understand. OK this is the way. It goes and you have to let it go. You have to understand that it is normal. ...This is like teenage time, like: I can't understand that. Can't go like... And it's terrible...”(100-20-3-5:1156-1163) - ‘confesses’ the coordinator about personal difficulties to accept that the success of the professional enabling means its end for enabling ‘from outside’, by following top down logic in frame of structured self-organisation.

Consequently, the Neighbourhood Association's self-transformation - discussed below - successfully catalysed the residents' mass self-organizing by bringing about an overarching shift transforming the district's development model. These broad changes in Arabianranta interplayed with the new developments unfolding in Helsinki and in the broader metropolitan area aiming to capitalize on the open innovation by deploying the Living Laboratory approach - as the next section discusses.

7/ Helsinki as Living Laboratory - manage mass engagement into open innovation⁵³⁴

The economy of Helsinki and the larger Metropolitan area was fundamentally transformed in the early 90's through “creative destruction” (Schumpeter, 1842, 1994). The tight budgetary resources' consequent focusing on (supporting) innovation and education was crucial for upgrading a complex innovation ecosystem focusing on effective technology transfer.

Finland's EU accession in 1995 created more favourable context for the systematic efforts to capitalise on robust globalization trends. The major of Helsinki in 2003 established the so called Helsinki Club to elaborate a new strategy aiming to transform the Metropolitan area into a world class innovation ecosystem. The Helsinki Club initiated broad collaboration aiming to upgrade, elevate to qualitatively higher level the complex ecosystem, which effectively facilitated technology transfer for decades. The new aim became to combine ‘traditional’ technology transfer with culture, art, design, and knowledge through capitalising on open innovation. This large shift required to mobilize the robust capacities of the public sector and to capitalize on creative energies of residents, the civil society partly by implementing the Living Laboratory concept.

⁵³⁴ The case describes efforts aiming to upgrade the sophisticated innovation ecosystem of the Helsinki Metropolitan area by capitalizing on (the deployment of) the Living Laboratory (concept). The interview with the director of the economic development department of the Helsinki city council and the director of the ADC LTD serve as primary sources of the case presentation.

The informal network of leaders of the innovation ecosystem elaborated the implementation plan of the new strategy and identified four pillars consisting of 26 interlinked actions. To the “most visible” two circles or “tyres” of this informal network belonged subsequently 100 and 300 persons (100-20-8-5:273-274). Their engagement to the broad cooperation efforts mobilized also the diverse stakeholder organizations of the ecosystem by enabling to jumpstart and shape the required complex change processes⁵³⁵.

Following the Helsinki council’s formal decision about transforming the city into a large Living Laboratory in order to facilitate open innovation, the other councils of the Metropolitan area also accepted this strategy. They accepted the necessity to act as orchestrators, to establish and operate catalytic platforms bringing together all (potential) stakeholders of the emerging knowledge economy. The task became to promote also social - besides technical - innovation and to facilitate more user-driven, market oriented approach in order to overcome technology push and catalyse social capital creation.

“A: ...on the local level also technology centres ...started in Oulu, in the early 80s. This triple helix model based cooperation between university, local government and business community ...it’s a very good concept but not...enough. Now we must be able to combine culture, art and design, knowledge to technology ...and we...should be the best worldwide in that. ...the idea here [is the] combination of science, creativity, and - of course - the education at the background - and...that is the base. It was formulated by [the Helsinki Club] and ...now it’s the official vision of Helsinki, city of Espoo, and city of Vantaa also ...after that we prepared this Helsinki region innovation strategy by the Culminatum⁵³⁶ and all...shareholders... All the players in the local innovation ecosystem... [It] was established in 1995, during those bad days. ...it was initiated by the university leaders. We must join and must combine all the capacities. ...we are so remote...we are so small. We must combine everything so it would be comparable with...bigger city regions...

Q: That was a real empowerment at institutional level... You created the effective umbrella...”(100-20-8-5:244-265) - sums up key aspects of the strategic shift the head of the economic development department of the Helsinki city council.

“A: ...this new national innovation strategy adopted ...the government...

A: ...the key idea ...that earlier it was technology push now it is more user-driven, market oriented...system. Not only technical innovation but also ...social innovations ...[are in] key interest of national innovation policy. And it’s a big challenge for TEKES. It used to be oriented on technology transfer... they have funded...for 25 years projects with university people and company people doing it together. ...it is not only funding, not only projects, but also tradition, people who know each other and are doing it together.

Q: It’s a kind of social capital creation at the same time.

⁵³⁵ Similar networks of local leaders played key role in transformations also in Oulu and other places.

⁵³⁶ “Culminatum is the organization where all the universities, universities of applied sciences, city of Helsinki, surrounding municipalities, the regional council and Helsinki Chamber of Commerce, Helsinki science park, Technopole science park are shareholders”(100-20-8-5:22-260).

A: ...if the funding is terminated still you have this social capital! ...this is the ideology behind the Living Lab... And its Arabianranta case where place matters. Place oriented way of doing it. And here may be the role of citizens...and civil society is very visible. Also this elderly people house, Lopukkiri, which is an amazing example ...old ladies...say: We are the Living Laboratory! And are very proud of it...

Q: That is real empowerment and mobilization!"(100-20-8-5:319-340) - explains the director of the economic development department the salient aspects of the 'social capital focused' strategy shift required at national level and in the Metropolitan area.

The City Council's role was to orchestrate diverse processes which could contribute to upgrade the existing complex innovation ecosystem through capitalizing on open innovation. The Council had to facilitate matchmaking among companies, SME's, city departments and especially citizens by catalysing the end users' participation in the R&D processes.

"A: ...We decided we can get some funding for this consortium so they can have an office... To help companies to formulate R & D projects, to get funding from TEKES. ...But who is funding this office? It's the city of Helsinki. That is our role. And...in the beginning I guessed that is enough. But very soon I could realise...

A: The main goal is [to ensure that also large, global] companies could operate here. And it is the best worldwide place to get end users and citizens to participate in those R & D processes. But of course this is another interest by the city...

Q: And also to create an ecosystem...

A: We did not...realise it in the beginning. But...during the process there has been several programs... And...the company, who always hosts the big event for those SME's ...is Nokia ...because, they all the time are seeking good partners and ideas...

A: ...it's a place for scanning what is happening. ...after one year...was a new...strategic process within this new consortium... And now I also realised, which is the most important thing. The most important role of the city... is...to put together for the SME's a program... It is about 1 million euro annually.

A: [The budget of Helsinki is] 4000 million. It's only 1 million ...for this [office]. ...But that's not the case. It's the role of...

Q: Orchestration!

A: The role of city departments. So that healthcare department, schools, public transport could join to those projects and bring those end-users.

Q: That makes you a real Living Lab"(100-20-8-5:365-391) - describes the head of the economic development department the process as the city could 'identify' its role as orchestrator of both, the various change processes and their aggregation into the innovation ecosystem' overarching transformation.

An important dual task became to mobilize various public sector players to search and implement innovative solutions, - frequently large scale - open innovation projects and programs⁵³⁷ and to ensure the active involvement of the residents as active users and

⁵³⁷ The healthcare became an important field for the successful practical implementation of the Living Laboratory concept. The Forum Virium launched a dialogue with healthcare experts who identified that the "big idea" for this sector could be: "how to help people maintain their health, so they don't have to come to us"? The

contributors. The city had to promote social innovation what could mean “everything outside technical innovation ...also...in leadership, in governance”(100-20-8-5:316) - as the director of economic development department pointed out. The subsequent emergence of the Living Laboratory concept became important driver and enabler of ‘translating’ the strategic shift into practical changes in daily life.

“A: ...It is some kind of historical situation because earlier the welfare state affairs were very separated from the policy or economic development. But now they are merging. The same actions can be very good for economic development, for companies located here. ...offering new ways of research and development in real life situations... And at the same time it is improvement for the social...and welfare services for the citizens. And the activity of the citizens is...important in the process, but the city departments [have to] link citizens with the companies. That might be the key point. ...The major and the deputy majors ...have brainstorming meeting every month. ...last October Ms Seija Kulkki was invited as a speaker to catalyse the discussion: What does it mean Helsinki as a Living Laboratory? ...I guess that was the first city where at the highest political level discussed what Living Laboratory means. From the point of view of economic development, from the point of view of social services...”(100-20-8-5:85-96) - describes the process of the Living Laboratory concept’s emergence on policy level in Helsinki the head of the economic development department.

“A: ...in Finland the public sector is so strong; the welfare state is...reaching everywhere... It’s very much accepted by citizens... the borderline between the civil society and the municipal activity is not...clear. ...the role of municipalities ...it’s...not so much mobilizing citizens as such, but mobilizing our city departments...like healthcare department or school department or public transport company of the city... Because they have all contacts to citizens whose needs they [have to fulfil]... So that is our...key strategy... to encourage our city departments in ...projects led by companies like Nokia and others ...[to] bring the citizens... And to help them implement their user driven activities”(100-20-8-5:71-80) - points out the head of department at the altered, focal role of the city departments in mobilizing citizens by implementing open innovation in practice.

The implementation plan of the strategy that the Helsinki Club proposed identified institutional-relational changes and required to establish important proper infrastructure and resource base for enabling knowledge economy and society related developments. These transformational tendencies must have been powerful enough to “put on the map” of the emerging global knowledge economy the broader Helsinki Metropolitan area. I.e. it had to become more attractive globally in order to involve and mobilize talented - mostly young - people exhibiting the most important ‘external resources’ for accelerated development of the knowledge economy.

launch of the “Healthy Helsinki” project’s pilot took place in the Herttoniemi district; it combined 10-15 potential subprojects and capitalized also on the lessons from Arabianranta.

Therefore the Metropolitan area actively promoted to establish a new interdisciplinary, innovation university by capitalizing on the financial support and direct participation of the companies. The mergers creating the Aalto University aimed to boost broader transformations also in the tertiary education. I.e. to reach similarly high level in “global competitiveness” indexes ranking the universities that the Finish primary and secondary education achieved in the early 2000s.

The Forum Virium was established as active mediator, facilitator, enabler and orchestrator, capable to catalyse matchmaking and broaden cooperation among multiple market and public sector players by actively involving citizens - i.e. to orchestrate the flagship projects of open innovation. Helsinki simultaneously invested into a new innovation fund to incentivise (various players from) city departments - in cooperation with TEKES, which provided funding for participating companies. Its important second agenda was to generate through the cooperative efforts robust social capital, which could remain active also when actual ‘tranches’ of funding were terminated (100-20-8-5:327-340).

The transformation of Helsinki and the broader Metropolitan area into a genuine, large-scale Living Laboratory aimed to effectively boost open innovation by catalysing the civil society players’ mass self-organizing. A key task of turning Helsinki into a Living Laboratory was to facilitate sustainable patterns of cooperation by involving into the open innovation efforts the residents as users, i.e. to implement in practice the quadruple helix approach⁵³⁸. I.e. the Living Laboratory had to contribute to strengthen the “institutional framework and the culture and quality of cooperation”(100-20-8-5:480-482)⁵³⁹ in order to re-shape the innovation ecosystem.

However, the practical implementation of the Living Laboratory concept raised many questions. It often required innovative solutions, the implementation of large scale pilots and the orchestration of the efforts of large number of relevant stakeholders who turned to be inexperienced in this new field.

“A: The challenge is if you want to do this in all ...new cities, new places ...without the very good knowledge of the content ...it’s impossible to do. And of course it requires time, it means people, it means money. In fact this is a question we are discussing with new people in Kalasatama and Jatkasaary and now we are [also] testing... In Kalasatama we are establishing

⁵³⁸ The efforts and results serving the implementation of the new strategy became even more important in order to “absorb” the robust negative impacts of the “collapse of the Nokia ecosystem”.

⁵³⁹ “A: ...The ...context of local and innovation ecosystem is ...crucial. ...[where the] institutional framework and the culture and quality of cooperation ... are so important!”(100-20-8-5:480-482) - emphasizes the head of the economic development department of the Helsinki Council.

a similar [to the Arabianranta program management and service] company, which has an area [broad] responsibility, but in Jatkasaary we do not do it. So that is a kind of social testing, which is the better way of doing, so it is a kind of Living Lab test but in a very big scale”(100-20-3-5:1168-1173) - explains the director of the Arabianranta - and also Kalasatama - local service company how district-wide experiments may interplay with efforts of launching Living Laboratories in order to facilitate mass-level self-organizing.

“A: ...Nowadays ...we have an agreement...in this metropolitan area ...we are closing our working LLs and we established a Helsinki LL, which is continuing to work in the metropolitan area. ...Forum Virium...takes care about international part ...we have agreed that not everybody is ...running to every place. ...we can have a local circle ...tell each other what is happening in different projects. ...everybody is bringing new projects in this group, present what they are doing, and then we...discuss: can somebody join to these projects...

...Q: ...In our previous discussion ...you were ...talking about concrete results... ...helping communities, elderly, business community, school communities ...you were talking about enabling ...orchestrating. ...Is this enabling and mobilizing...possible...?

A: Well! As far as what we have experienced here in Arabianranta: enabling and orchestrating is the crucial question...(100-20-3-5:534-569) - points out at crucial importance of enabling and orchestrating the director of ADC by summarizing practical experiences of Arabianranta Living Lab serving as pilot for the Helsinki Living Laboratory.

Similar challenges and ways of solutions connected with establishing quadruple helix indicated also various players of the informal network of leaders from Oulu. They attempt to establish a Living Laboratory in order to upgrade their complex regional innovation ecosystem. Their efforts could serve as another large-scale pilot offering experience for the Metropolitan area, as well as for Finland as a whole - as the next section indicates.

8/ Oulu - innovation ecosystem development in the Nokia city⁵⁴⁰

Oulu established a very effective complex regional innovation ecosystem. Its focal player for decades was the Nokia and its participants systematically developed partnerships with the global bests in many fields. Oulu seems to be a nationally recognized phenomenon in Finland. It has strong traditions of international trade and cooperation starting from the XVII Century when tar had “global” importance for shipbuilding and shipping. The next great era of the city and the broader region was connected to the establishment and rapid development of the university and the arrival of many young and dynamic professors in the late 60s. They identified the importance of the developments in the Silicon Valley and very actively promoted the idea to implement lessons from it. Some of them “pre-sensed” (Scharmer, 2000,

⁵⁴⁰ The case describes the attempt to upgrade the regional innovation ecosystem of Oulu through establishing a (regional) Living Laboratory. The seven interviews made with 11 participants of the informal network of the local leaders (professors of the university, directors of economic development department of city council, director of the Oulu Innovation agency, directors of VTT and the Oulu Southern Institute) serve as sources of the presentation of the case.

2007) the great potential that the yet only emerging microelectronics offered. They created a strong competence centre in a very early stage that proved to be competitive nationally and soon globally. The systematic and ‘multidimensional’ networking - promoted particularly by professor Matti Ottala (100-20-19-5:14) - enabled to establish close working relations with many potential partners including politicians, decision makers of the Finnish Army, members of the government, as well as with companies including the rapidly growing and transforming Nokia. Through informal networking among local players including city council, university, and companies a rapidly expanding regional innovation ecosystem emerged. Personal contacts and relationships based upon mutual trust (partly due to relatively compact size of the region with around 250.000 residents) played decisive role in facilitating very effective cooperation.

Due to their concerted efforts the production of the new radio equipment⁵⁴¹ for the Finish Army was launched in Oulu. It created competencies, expertise and capacities and with emergence of the era of mobile telephony rapidly transformed Oulu into “Nokia city”. The new technology park immediately started to develop personalized and sophisticated services⁵⁴². The focused lobby brought the new electronics research centre of VTT into Oulu (instead of Otaniemi). The science park, the early lunch of the incubation services and the innovative forms of financing, the excess to the venture capital were just few of the many important - often mutually catalytic - developments constitutive of the emerging regional innovation ecosystem.

The continuous dialogue and cooperation through informal networking among various stakeholders generated the spectacular temp of development and the systematic upgrading of capacities. Local players established and systematically cultivated close relations with the global bests in their fields what enabled to “pre-sense” and capitalise on new trends ‘just in time’. The spectacular growth of the regional economy generated significant revenues enabling to locally co-finance the developments.

The robust “Nokianization” of the region⁵⁴³ was crucial systemic driver, which however generated increasing path dependence that together with growing size of (the capacities of the) local economy created and amplified also certain handicaps. The increasing bureaucratization of organizations interplayed with the decline of the intensity and role of

⁵⁴¹ The new technology, including microelectronics, prevented the wire-tapping of the radios what in the immediate neighbourhood of the Soviet army was important factor.

⁵⁴² The technology park was established in the empty building of the old diary.

⁵⁴³ The plausible expression of “Nokianization” emerged during a research interview (100-20-19-5).

personal contacts and relationships at least in relative sense. The drawbacks became increasingly visible with weakening the role of mobile telephony in global economic growth.

The region was unable to act better or even differently than the dominant player of its ecosystem. It would be difficult to find solutions that would not fit with plans and actions of the Nokia, a global leader in its industry. The visions of “founding fathers”, the pivotal role of microelectronics and later of mobile telephony, could not serve anymore as compass for future strategies from early 2000s. The rapidly growing global role of the Internet turned to be too broad and unclear and the recursive attempts to elaborate a new vision and strategy for Oulu failed.

A group of university professors and experts attempted to capitalize on the Living Laboratory concept. Their aim was to upgrade the regional innovation ecosystem by establishing and operating a Living Laboratory capable facilitating mass-level open innovation. The management of a Living Laboratory capable to stimulate the robust regional innovation ecosystem required experiment to mobilize residents as end-users by orchestrating multiple players and resources. It was quite difficult to convince decision makers responsible for financing to provide resources for an experiment aiming to offer innovative services for companies which did not even exist (100-20-16-5). The tradition of trustful cooperation was perceived as the most important potential resource capable to facilitate open innovation and mobilize creative energies and knowledge.

“A: ...it was collaboration ...what was very decisive and has been the main-main strength of everything. ...the other areas like Helsinki never have been able to establish the kind of collaboration we have”(100-20-19-5:271-273) - points out a professor of the Oulu University by admitting:

“A: ...this was a truly phenomenal thing what happened here with the telecom. Now we are a little bit...how would I say... Our minds are upon my opinion bit blurred. We don’t know exactly...

A: ...where to go, what to do”(100-20-19-5:305-307).

The informal network of the local leaders successfully orchestrated feed backing efforts aiming to upgrade the state-of-the-art information-communication networks, to elaborate and launch pilot projects enabling enhanced participation of the residents as users, to mobilize financing for an experimental Living Laboratory infrastructure. They attempted to systematically mobilize companies across the region. They focused primarily on firms acting in sectors similar to healthcare, leisure, and related to (local) tourism providing enhanced potential to capitalize on the emerging Living Laboratory.

“C: Quality shift, paradigm shift perhaps it’s a development. And our problem here can be that we have been quite successful in this technology push model concept and administer that ...its carrying not so strong into the future and some changes are needed and how we can tackle those. The basic in this Living Lab concept is brilliant to get the innovation flow through the feedback. Perhaps we speak about the creativity of the society a field that we had some indicators 30 years ago than some people started rating things and something new... That was not end-user, but shift the policy to other mode, model. And we succeeded in that. Perhaps some new are also needed here to see through the technology what for the application, who are using. That is in all Finnish Living Laboratories a problem. We are very used to the thing that the technology solves the problems. In many cases solves, in other cases it brings more problems. But when we look at what the demand in service sector that needed in this kind of infrastructure... we are in healthcare system there are a lot of need for new solutions”(100-20-16-5:363-374) - points out a professor of the Oulu University at the necessity and difficulty to break path dependence and upgrade the very successful triple helix to a quadruple helix through capitalizing on Living Laboratories.

“A: So this is going on more and more. And this Living Lab kind of activities could actually solve our problems. ...we can establish local innovation systems in which we have strategic partnerships with different...actors. Not only companies also funders, regional development units...city offices and so one ...[are] always present and deciding what will happen in this Living Laboratory ...discussing the priorities ...Establishing new projects.

C: That is all kind of Living Laboratories not only Oulu. Other places like Rovaniemi.

A: Yes, yes! Of course! But I think that you really can’t have a Living Laboratory that has a scope for Northern Finland. It will be a collection of Living Laboratories because

C: Network...

A: I have a feeling that the Living Laboratory will work ...because it always involves a set of key people. And they usually are in local neighbourhood networks. So they can meet each other in every day and they will establish all this psychology as you mentioned. And they really are a team not a ...

C: The general concept of taking the local needs, local contexts...

A: Yes! We are talking about cost effectiveness, optimization... Work best with local because... People can work really effectively when they are close to each other. And the demonstration will anyway happen, somehow in physical area...

...C: I was thinking in this value chain. (drawing) When we speak of testbeds this part of value chain is working as a Living Lab, but getting this feedback which is the basic idea of the Living Laboratories as a whole to get to users, normal people involved... No one is close to that concept yet”(100-20-1-5:178-235) - elaborate professors of the Oulu University on salient components of a ‘non-conventional’ networked Living Lab approach aiming to revitalize and upgrade the robust regional innovation ecosystem through capitalizing on open innovation.

“A: ...this is part of a much bigger plan - Arctic Wellbeing Park. There we have four spearhead projects and this is one of them.

C: These are the first variants to set up our Living Laboratory, the concept.

Q: Does it mean that the city is really ready to be supportive including investing financially to create for example technology background?

A: We...hope so because someone has to maintain the technological infrastructure may be this is the city. ...the management organization is not really up yet. But we have to discuss with all those people ...there is a set of companies involved that already have their products [acting in the]...area. This is a skiing resort...as well. And they have lots of products. Sport school, ski resort, hotels ...we are going to take in some ICT infrastructure that could make

their services ...more visible, some marketing and also people will use their services through the ICT services and products. They want somehow...

C: To get in touch with the users... ..To link...the people.

A: Yes! And also we want get the customers really involved - permanently.

C: Get some demonstration of that.

A: This is how we have to start. We have to demonstrate first that...the idea of Living Laboratory gives value for the local companies.

C: Demonstrate all the value chain”(100-20-16-5:502-530) - sums up the two professors of Oulu University the most important components necessary to establish a Living Laboratory⁵⁴⁴.

The concerted efforts to establish an ‘unconventional’, networked, regional Living Laboratory capable to launch gradual upgrading of the robust Oulu innovation ecosystem may have much broader effects. Oulu - by capitalizing on trust-based relationships enabling very effective cooperation - could again perform as a large scale pilot offering important lessons for others, including the Metropolitan area.

“Q: If you compare Helsinki with Oulu, are they similar, are the same, or are they different?

A: They are very much the same but... ..many of the [cooperation related factors] are still working in Oulu, because there is a tradition to do it together... ..the Helsinki region is 1,3 million the Oulu region is 130.000 - it is much easier to do it together.

Q: Is it a kind of acceptance that they are...pilot for Helsinki as well?

A: It is clear. For me it is clear! Really they have done many things earlier than we. But of course...the 10 times bigger Helsinki region is much more interesting from...point of view of global companies because it has some volume. And you need some volumes also”(100-20-8-5:451-466) - confirms the ‘informal’ pilot role of Oulu for the Metropolitan area and in fact also for Finland the head of economic development department of the Helsinki city council.

The professional enabling seems to play a key role in the successful practical implementation of the Living Laboratory concept. A key aspect of the effective professional enabling is connected with trust creation and enhancement - as the following cases convincingly indicate.

9/ Open-innovation of farmers in Mórahalom - trustful mutual empowerment⁵⁴⁵

The Collaboration at Rural (C@R) projects aimed to facilitate open innovation in order to “enable people in remote and rural Europe to fully participate in the knowledge society as

⁵⁴⁴ “A: ...I am presently preparing a new project proposal with my colleagues in Rovaniemi ...involving our university and two companies in private project system. ...we are thinking of establishing a living laboratory. This will be a starting project... We will solve some basic problems in the infrastructure, technological infrastructure. And in future project we will expand it a new direction. And it’s hard to explain the funders to be again TEKES what we are doing because they are concerned about IPR. Who will come to be our supporters why are not they already here? It’s hard to explain that those companies do not exist yet that we want to get into living laboratory. So the funders don’t understand the problems of this living laboratory...

C: It’s not matching with the current rules” - point out at some “practicalities” hindering to implement the Living Laboratory concept the professors of the Oulu University.

⁵⁴⁵ The case describes the farmers’ successful attempt to carry out open innovation (projects) in frame of a Living Laboratory. Five interviews with 6 participants - a farmer, the director of the farmer’s cooperative, 2 project coordinator experts from the Szeged University, the advisor of the local Agrarian Chamber, the director of the development agency of the micro-region - serve as sources of the case presentation.

citizens and as professionals”⁵⁴⁶ by providing EU support to establish Living Laboratories. In Mórahalom (in Southern-Hungary) the Living Laboratory project effectively facilitated the success of open innovation among farmers. A key role played the project coordinators - IT experts from the Szeged University - who paid great attention to establish and enhance trustful relationships. They involved in early stage also the local expert of the Agrarian Chamber who had long-term trustful relationships with the participating farmers as advisor who created strong personal reputation. The aim of the project was to establish a system enabling the farmers to predict the volume (and quality) of pepper to be shipped to wholesalers upon pre-agreed timetable. This information could significantly improve their bargaining position with wholesaler chains by increasing their revenues.

The active participation of the trusted agrarian expert played crucial role in elevating to new, higher level the farmers’ cooperation. They agreed to provide mutual access to the data of their climate computers controlling all production processes in the greenhouses. The IT experts enabled to transfer the data automatically to a common database. The analysis of the cumulated data made visible any mistake and also enabled to identify good practices. I.e. the farmers by analysing their ‘personal’ data and comparing them with the other participants’ data could learn a lot allowing decreasing costs and improving both the effectiveness of their production processes and the quality of their products.

The special indicator of the Predict project’s success was the farmers’ readiness to continue cooperation upon the advisor’s proposal and elaborate innovative methods by implementing tools and solutions from biotechnology⁵⁴⁷. The farmers agreed to participate in and contributed to a new project although it took place without external financing. The conscious trust creation efforts in frame of the Living Laboratory project enabled to enhance the trustful character of their relationships, to generate and accumulate social capital, and elevate the farmers’ cooperation on new (qualitative) level. A confirmation of the crucial significance of trust ‘management’ provided the outcome of the efforts of local farmers and entrepreneurs on the Turku Archipelago in frame of a parallel C@R project - discussed in the next section.

⁵⁴⁶ http://www.c-rural.eu/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1

⁵⁴⁷ By simultaneously locating in proper proportion the pests and their natural enemies on the pepper seedlings allowed creating a biological balance, what prevented the pests’ proliferation and eliminated the need to use chemicals. This enabled to improve the quality of products while decreasing costs.

10/ Open innovation of farmers in Turku - disempowering lack of mutual trust⁵⁴⁸

A group of farmers and local entrepreneurs aimed to enable direct sales of local products and services for tourists through mobile devices. They cooperated in frame of a Living Laboratory established on the Turku Archipelago with EU funding from the Collaboration at Rural project⁵⁴⁹. The coordinator of this Living Laboratory project lived in the area and also spoke Swedish as the majority of residents what facilitated her acceptance by the participants. She cooperated with the deputy-major of Turku Archipelago responsible for coordination of the development projects - who acted also as a social entrepreneur. They could convince the farmers to participate in the open innovation efforts despite their previous negative experiences with externally financed projects. The farmers hoped to increase their income through Mobile Direct Sales, i.e. through new applications for mobile devices that would allow providing innovative services for tourists.

The Living Laboratory concept promised to focus on fulfilment of the farmers' genuine needs with and through their active participation. However, the farmers had to realize with time that the EU financing in frame of Collaboration at Rural (C@R) project at this stage was connected to improved take up of new technologies (100-20-24-5). Its rigidity made difficult to solve the emerging local problems. Additionally, the communication among the farmers and the technical, primarily IT experts was very time consuming and cumbersome.

The biggest obstacle turned to be, however, the (relatively) low level of trust among the participating farmers and entrepreneurs. They were not ready to deliver 'internal' data about the production costs and sales what prevented the experts to carry out realistic risk assessment and to offer effective business model(s). The participants encouraged the project managers to act as trusted intermediaries and facilitate to establish an operable informal network of the local leaders and key participants. These mediating efforts however failed to reach significant results because of the tight project timelines and limited resources. Due to relative lack of trust the farmers failed to continue collaboration when the EU financing was terminated although it would serve their mutual interests.

⁵⁴⁸ The case describes the farmers and local entrepreneurs' efforts on the Turku Archipelago to launch mobile direct sales of local products and services to tourist through a Living Laboratory facilitated open innovation project. The interviews with the project manager and the deputy-major of the Turku Archipelago council serve as sources of the case presentation.

⁵⁴⁹ The coordinators of the projects in Turku and Mórahalom had occasional contacts, but they could not establish closer cooperation - partly due to lack of the necessary resources and the projects' tight time limits.

The cooperation among the project coordinators and the experts of regional development networks enabled to keep - at least part of - the accumulated experience and knowledge in the area and the regional university of applied sciences established contacts with various national and global Living Laboratory players. Despite these positive developments the project related efforts stopped with the termination of EU financing. The participating farmers and entrepreneurs could not solve remaining problems impeding to start mobile direct sales. The initial positive developments and trends could not become sustainable due to lack of social capital and relatively low level of the mutual trust among local players. These developments amplified the farmers' previous negative experiences indicating that the external funding of development projects do not allow creating sustainable solutions for local problems. The project's failure re-confirmed the focal role of trust creation and management for the success of the open innovation.

The *professional enabling* is often carried out as informal networking among local leaders promoting innovation. The Living Laboratories may serve as catalysts of the self-organizing innovative activities facilitating (increasingly) open innovation. They serve as flexible tools which may operate in broad range by embracing from relatively small group(s) of farmers till entire regions and metropolitan areas. The explored cases often are related to efforts aiming to establish and operate EU-funded Living Laboratories (Table N 5 above) in order to create or upgrade local innovation eco-systems (*Oulu* and *Helsinki*).

The developments in *Mórahalom* and *Turku* indicate very plausibly that the success of the professional enabling at significant degree depends on its ability to generate and accumulate social capital allowing strengthening trustful relationships. In *Arabianranta* the professional enabling unfolding in frame of structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006)⁵⁵⁰ successfully catalysed to develop new capacities and capabilities of the local civil society that in turn catalysed to launch self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006). The cooperative efforts' success depends at significant degree on trust creation, which feeds back with the volunteers' (self-)communication - as the next part explains.

⁵⁵⁰ In the frame of structured self-organization - that Leadbeater (2006) describes by analysing the impressive success story of the Brazilian city, Curitiba - local authorities through systematic professional enabling generate and orchestrate self-organizing efforts. These actively catalyse local development with enhanced participation of the civil society and various players from the neighbourhood.

Social networking and self-communication

11/ Social media: networking self-communication - “connect the intelligence of people”⁵⁵¹

The social media offers virtual catalytic platforms for networking self-communication (Castells, 2009) and volunteer cooperation among individuals and various groups of the civil society. They enable to “...connect...the intelligence of people, rather than trying to substitute for them by putting intelligence in machines”(Burgelman and Osimo, 2007). The social media offer enabling platforms for vivid dialogic collaboration (LinkedIn) that in many cases and at wide range of fields may feedback with practical cooperative efforts also in the physical space (Facebook)⁵⁵².

The social media facilitates enhanced networking with truly global reach. It “multiplies and diversifies entry points in the communication process ...give rise to unprecedented autonomy...to communicate”, i.e. offer tools for self-communication (Castells, 2009)⁵⁵³ at truly mass level. The ability to access to and participate in various dialogues and activities unfolding in the virtual space has growing importance for tackling challenges characteristic for different life periods and situations - points out the deputy-major of the Turku Archipelago who is responsible for coordinating local development projects. His “fibred vision” emphasizes the importance of providing broadband access since the improved connectivity enables to act with quasi-global reach also in rural and remote areas by simultaneously enjoying a safe environment and closeness to nature.

“A: ...you are handicapped today if you aren’t comfortable with the computer and the web ...[allowing to] systematically participate in certain groups, which are...important for your life for certain reasons. If you’re having a child ...you are participating in daddy’s forum ...get

⁵⁵¹ The case describes how the social networks facilitate (self-)communication and self-organizing among volunteer co-operators. The participative observation - primarily in Facebook and LinkedIn - and four interviews - with the former coordinator of the Finnish information society strategy, the deputy-major of the Turku Archipelago, with two experts of SITRA, and with a lead manager of a global company acting also as key expert of the Living Laboratory concept - serve as sources of the case presentation.

⁵⁵² Acting as matchmakers self-organizing Facebook groups of volunteers proved to be very effective coordinators of mutual and self-aid by contacting distressed persons during extreme weather conditions in Hungary in 2013 (<https://www.facebook.com/SzarnyasFejvadasz>). They proved to be far more effective than the authorities responsible for carrying out such activities.

⁵⁵³ The “...mass self-communication...multiplies and diversifies the entry points in the communication process. This gives rise to unprecedented autonomy for communicative subjects to communicate at large. Yet, this potential for autonomy is shaped, controlled, and curtailed by the growing concentration and interlocking of corporate media and network operators around the world. Global multimedia business networks (including government-owned media) ...integrate the networks..., platforms... and channels of communication in their multilayered organizations, while setting up switches of connection to the networks of capital, politics, and cultural production...”Castells (2009:135).

information for yourself and share information which helps you. It strengthens you probably even in hard to handle situation you face with...in your work life ...if you are going to a transformation: should I skip this job and go somewhere else? There are probably a million other guys...in the same situation...around the world ...it helps either to build your certainty - should I do it? ...then if yes, which direction should I go?”(100-20-22-5:60-70) - indicates the promoter of “fibred vision” the potential that (the participation in) social networks may offer in personal aspects.

“A: ...you will be able to have comparable chances of working with ...business technology, IT and make living for people, who are young academic and having this interest and not interested in agriculture... ...combine the value of a small society with a small school with a safe environment with closeness to the ocean having an...Ocean boat ...with the type of work that you would be doing somewhere in Helsinki. That real work requires fibre to every household. ...as a consequence...you can start to provide those households also with...IP TV and...solutions that also make...next step in e-health ...the easiest way for persons to have some kind of monitoring and to get a social support for...an elderly person on an island is the TV. Everybody knows...to work with the remote control”(100-20-22-5:449-459) - explains the deputy major some aspects of the potential that the “fibred vision” offers for residents of rural areas similar to the Turku Archipelago.

Although social networks can significantly broaden the connectedness their participants continue to focus on members of their personal “core group”, which on average consists of 3-7 persons (Adams, 2010). I.e. the social media remains the domain of the (very) long term tendencies characterising human relationships⁵⁵⁴ although they simultaneously facilitate “technically” to (re-) establish and maintain “unlimited” number of contacts. Nevertheless, the burgeoning of social networks provides the ability to participate in multiple, often virtual, communities and to amend new aspects into one’s daily life by catalysing the participants’ potential for mutual and self-empowerment. It serves as genuinely global domain enabling to capitalize on the strength of the weak ties (Granovetter, 1973).

Indeed, the social media provide platforms enabling members of the civil society to establish mutually empowering relationships and cooperate through the virtual - and also the physical - space. The participation in the social networks creates also the awareness of the capability to generate institutional and social change. They enable self-communication by allowing giving voice to certain groups by generating their ability “...of forcing...change...through various types of actions and protests, including those that are meant to mobilize public opinion”(Hirschman, 1970:30). The civil society players through social networks may co-

⁵⁵⁴ Seemingly, the 80:20 ration of the Pareto rule is also at work in context of the social networks. The participants focus their attention and time on contacts with members of a core group of 3-7 persons. This (very) long-term trend feeds back with fundamental human biological-psychological characteristics (Adams, 2010; Benkler, 2011).

create and present their opinion by mobilizing and capitalizing on communication power (Castells, 2009). I.e. they may catalyse (self-)empowerment, facilitate enhanced self- and social consciousness, and generate readiness and capacity to carry out social agency.

The participation in networking self-communication creates awareness and empowerment by facilitating to "...see that I'm not the only one who's thinking like this. ...that director ...or that professor is thinking so and ... I can also think like that and say it. So that's also a kind of empowerment ...people...come to Internet and say that this is not right"(100-20-6-5:448-451) - points out at the potential empowering effect of the social media the former government coordinator of the Finnish information society program.

"A: ...it's surprising that ...middle aged people ... [are so] active and ready to say that this is not right ...cannot go on like this. People...I would have never talked with would say that...

Q: It is because you feel that you are in a community...you are not alone?

A: Yes! And when you see that others also say so ...you are not afraid to say it anymore. ...before that I thought that I will be "labelled"...that no one...will hire me...if I say that...important ...[to be] concerned...in environment ...now you can say it"(100-20-6-5:457-465) - elaborates on describing the empowering potential of the social networks the former

governmental coordinator of the Finnish knowledge society program. She also assumes based upon her personal experience that contacts established through social networks "operating" in virtual space may be transformed into close personal relationship and even genuine friendship:

"A: ...In my Facebook community I have [contacts]...from [different] countries ...for example from Turkey someone [whom] I have never known before ...we had common friend and so simply became my Facebook friend..."(100-20-6-5:45-47).

On the other hand the virtual space became increasingly important domain for the market and public players' attempts to influence members of the civil society perceived subsequently as consumers and voters. Upon this approach the social media is seen as a domain and tool for mass operations or rather for attempts to "operate with the mass" through the virtual space. In this frame the "free services" that platform-operators provide have in fact intensely growing price since their users provide - often involuntarily - access to their personal data at an extent that affects and even may damage their privacy.

"A: ...Google is ...utilizing global openness and creating few extremely closed standards. ...of course the ...most defended ...is the search engine...

A: ...But around the core ...they...manage the...application protocol interfaces. ...with the all new Internet economy where mails are "flying" and applications are flying and all the content is flying ...they have to grab as many as possible ...They use ...open world thinking [to get] access to our homes, to our consumption and then sharing it to all. ...the greatest example where...my citizen role says that: "Wait a minute, how can this happen?" They give you free-of-charge terabytes of free server-base for your e-mail ...even...corporate IT cannot

cope with extended traffic and intelligence ...Our people are using Google and others, searching interesting information, loading them to computers ...Google is giving them ...individual management...tools for it. ...It ends up that I'm talking from Google to Google ...on very confidential ...matters [with my colleagues and friends]. ...Google is great for me; Google is making the money, which I'm not making. But it would be even greater if it would be...an open source community who would share into it. But Google is so much more efficient...doing it. ...we all share all our information through our Gmail to Google ...we share to all global community with literate people, which is great. But...I start questioning that why am I doing this with [and] for Google..."(100-20-5-5:310-337) - points out the lead expert of a global company at the 'dual' meaning of free access by turning social media into important and robust source of - company profit.

The social networking exemplifies and confirms the crucial importance of the actual pattern(s) of enactment (Orlikowski, 1992, 2000) that may turn the same technology into source of both empowerment and estrangement *simultaneously*. Depending on the concrete context and mechanisms of implementation, identical technology may promote exclusion and estrangement or may serve as a robust source of participation and social agency⁵⁵⁵ as self-communication through social networks and web2.0 phenomena exemplifies. I.e. the awareness of such dual character of the enabling technologies may facilitate self-communication (Castells, 2009) with empowering effects and may also help to prevent disempowering impacts. The awareness of the self-communication's potential to create association-prone institutional changes may enhance (the effectiveness of) the community members' participation and capability of social agency.

The social networks and the Internet are 'traditionally' seen and continue to serve as important domain of the volunteer co-operators' self-regulation. However, self-regulation is amended and increasingly replaced by regulation carried out by (platform) operators as well as by national - and also EU - legislators. Current regulatory attempts paradoxically may even bring about the danger of '(re-) partition' of virtual space and internet on national domains.

The social networks are characterised by controversial, even diametrically opposing trends. They remain important - in a sense crucial - domains enabling self-communication (Castells, 2009) and volunteer cooperation among the members of civil society. However, there are robust and growingly effective tendencies aiming to affect and manipulate the social networks' users as consumers and voters. This approach tries by deploying communication

⁵⁵⁵ The "neutrality of technology" concept has misleading character as SITRA experts indicate (100-20-11-5).

power to influence the social networks' participants by limiting, deforming or even derailing genuine (empowering potential of) self-communication. Due to simultaneous presence of controversial tendencies in social networks the efforts that facilitate the participation and agency of the citizens - rather than the costumers - have increasing importance as the next section explains.

Participation and agency

12/ Finnish national e-Democracy network – enabling participation⁵⁵⁶

The e-Democracy department of the Finnish Ministry of Justice is responsible at governmental level to facilitate participation and enhance various aspects of democracy as a whole⁵⁵⁷. The five experts of department play active role also in two national coordination forums focusing on civil society and on information society developments⁵⁵⁸. The department also coordinates a network of the democracy officials who are present in almost all ministries.

The department initiated to create a platform to improve information delivery since the available consultation sites of ministries were purely visited. The new platform had to provide information about processes unfolding in the central government and their expected consequences. It had to be easily accessible for everybody in order to help to (re-)connect the political decision-making processes with citizens and catalyse their active participation. The platform was planned to enable discussions, formal consultations with decision-makers, as well as voting and surveys. The initiators proposed to present the information from the local communities' point of view to generate the citizens' interest and motivation to access and use the platform.

“A: ...this internet site where you can make a comment. ...it's not so popular. Many bills or projects are put there. We don't get so much comment.

A: ...I think that more information would get from the discussion sites which are not official.

Q2: Do you follow these kinds of discussion clubs that are not official too?

A: There are some sites that are followed... actually [by] our PR department...

Q2: Do you get feedback what has been said?

⁵⁵⁶ The case describes enabling activities of the e-Democracy department of the Finnish Ministry of Justice aiming to facilitate democratic participation and deliberation. The interviews with the head of e-Democracy department and with an expert of (legal regulation of) local authorities' activity in the Ministry of Finance serve as primary sources of the case presentation.

⁵⁵⁷ An organization with comparable responsibilities exists in Sweden. In the UK Ministry of Justice one person has similar tasks, while the ICLE unit's aim is to strengthen local democracy and e-democracy.

⁵⁵⁸ They were called as delegations and both were established for four years. The civil society delegation consisted of the representatives of civil society, central government, enterprises, and research sector. In the delegation for information society issues the representatives of the business sector, central government and research sector were present.

A: Yes! We get messages from people...

A: ...interested in some issue, people now google it. Of course we have...many reports and press releases. There many times relate to minister of finance and our PR are to contact ...they bring to us [the comments] ...we get a lot of messages ...some are really important and many are not. So it's part of...communication... we have lot of contacts from [the side of] ...private persons and communities" (100-20-12-5:320-341) - points out the expert of local authorities department in Ministry of Finance at the importance to follow up self-organizing discussion forums and the messages from the citizens.

"A: ...normally we put press release in different stages and phases. They know what is happening and they contact. And for example [the implementation of video conferencing in local decision making] is...one issue that we have hoped to be discussed in the media. Because we would like to know how far we should go with? Some are concerned that [everybody should participate] on the official meetings ...others think that why should not be all the meetings...at home or at working place - a computer is suitable for that... there is a camera. ...So we have to know ...what the people feel. Our minister has now all...ideas. But she has to listen...

Q1: To get a support...

A: And listen how...people in Finland feel?"(100-20-12-5:341-359) - describes the expert from the Ministry of Finance how practical mechanisms enabling political decision makers to listen to public opinion may operate.

Although experts of the e-Democracy department were keen to support innovative tools they also wanted to assure that the new technologies would facilitate genuine participation through the internet rather than "playing democracy". I.e. the deployment of new technologies should have to facilitate genuine dialogue and enhanced participation in decision making processes.

"A: ...how to enable new networks and new forms of participation for example through the internet. ...and make it real. What I wouldn't like to see a sort of 'playing democracy'. That we are offering people possibilities sort of play participation. I would like to see a real democracy. I would like to connect the actual decision-making processes of the politics to people"(100-20-23-5:322-327) - emphasizes the coordinator of e-Democracy department the importance that the new tools and technology would enhance the "informed participation" of the citizens.

The deliberation however often was seen as simple technological question not as a matter of (changing) attitudes. Finland had developed the information society from customer and business point of view not from point of view of democracy and (citizen) participation or e-Democracy - as the expert indicates. Due to this approach the country was the 45th in context of how the government enables citizens to participate and take action, i.e. of deliberation - a UN report from 2008 indicated. In this aspect the situation was rather different compared to information and knowledge society related issues where Finland was at top of lists with high scores.

“A: ...in Finland we have developed the information society from the customer point of view, from the business point of view and not from the point of e-Democracy. And this keeps going on; we have a delegation for the everyday information society development within the ministry of information and transport. I am in the secretariat of this delegation. I witness it every day that even though they are not against the democratic aspect they are not for it” (100-20-23-5:91-95) - describes the expert the necessity of attitude change among civil servants in order to facilitate substantive deliberation.

To strengthen democratic trends requires tackling cross-cutting issues. The experts of e-Democracy department were aware that they had to “try to create processes that are bigger than [them]”(100-20-23-5:662) - as the coordinator pointed out. The willingness to vote and to participate as citizens had considerably decreased during previous decades. This negative trend especially among young people was stronger in Finland than in other Western democracies. It seemed to be connected with processes of “de-politization” in the school system starting from late 70s (100-20-23-5:275-283). Due to these tendencies (especially the party) politics became considered as a taboo in the schools. Since this aspect was excluded the personal identity formation did not match anymore with the creation of citizen identity what catalysed an attitude-change. The educational system - and the society at large - facilitated to “raise new customers and not citizens”(100-20-23-5:299). The human identity is greatly characterised by collectivism and it can’t be some kind of “individual centralized” - emphasizes the head of e-Democracy department. The strong individuals have also strong collective identity and they want the whole society to benefit. If collective identity disappears the society may turn into a network of individual citizens, the collection of individual “project” identities - as Castells (1996) indicates.

“A: ...During the 1970s we had a sort of climate within our school system and within the society [where] party politics was a very strong issue. There has been a discussion about “politization” within schools. Then during the late 70s and the 80s there was...a total change of situation. ...no politics was allowed inside the school walls. That was considered a kind of taboo. We speak about the young people, but actually the problem is ...for all under 45 years. I think the school system has had a great role here, but we ...actually [do not] give space for our children to seek their identity. We fail to offer them any food for this when they [are trying] to find their citizen identity [during their] identity seeking process. What we actually do is raising new customers and not citizens. ...of course I am simplifying...because there are big trends going on in the Western world. ...Manuel Castells...has this idea about changes in people’s identity and sees the collective identity disappearing. ...we see...kind of project identities, very individual identities... We don’t actually have...society anymore; we have a sort of network of individual citizens”(100-20-23-5:274-288) - describes the e-Democracy expert the long-term trends that change attitudes and prevent citizens from participation.

The democratic attitude has strong traditions upon the Finnish self-perception. Despite it - similarly to voting - in the participation in the NGOs was observable also long-term decline.

More precisely, the attention to and participation in was focused on those NGOs, which offered cultural, sport and leisure time related services. I.e. the “popular” NGOs enabled to participate as customers not as citizens. These trends did not (re-)create social capital and did not facilitate participation in democratic processes. They catalysed the emergence of a networked society based on customer ideology and “consumption of democracy services”. These negative trends were strengthened also by the companies’ hardening attitude - points out the expert coming from the trade unions.

“A: ...we actually have to consider if the application of the new ICT strengthens the e-Democracy. We have to do something to prevent the crisis; however I don’t actually know whether it can be prevented. I think during the last decades we’ve witnessed great change in people’s attitude, people’s willingness in taking part, [to] act as citizens.

Q: It’s a decrease...

A: Yes! The same has been witnessed in Western Europe and in America, but in some aspects it has been [stronger trend] in Finland than in other countries. Our voting percentages have declined ...Especially when it comes to young people and their willingness to vote. The difference between the average and the youngsters’ voting percentage is one of the highest in Europe. So we have a problem there. We’ve also witnessed changes in people’s willingness to participate through ...NGOs. This decline has not been as fast as at voting, but it’s very clear. People are ready to participate in those NGOs that offer some cultural, sport or [similar] services. They are interested in participating as customers, but they are not interested in participating as citizens”(100-20-23-5:224-242) - points out the head of e-Democracy department at intertwined trends that affect negatively deliberation.

“A: ...[the social capital] is a key word again When you describe the possible future of the connected strong individuals and not traditional community - my main worry is...the social capital. ...there is quite a lot of it in Finland and our NGOs, traditional participation fora have been important in creating...social capital. ...if this new networked society is based on ...customer ideology I don’t think there is much social capital created in these relations. ...this is worrying”(100-20-23-5:405-410) - emphasizes the expert the importance to enhance the participation in the NGO’s capable facilitate the re-production of the social capital.

Surprisingly enough also many civil society organizations were reluctant to support changes; they were conservative and preferred to “play safe”. They did not support new regulations enabling to increase citizen participation through technologies, because it could - and probably would - change actual status quo. They were aware that although large, systemic changes could offer win-win situation from societal point of view they affect the balance of power and may trigger some personal or group level losses - at least in short run. Therefore an important task of the e-Democracy department was to facilitate the emergence of civil society actors, who were ready and willing to cooperate for the sake of strengthening the democracy.

“A: ...I don’t actually see the legislation could be a big problem here. I think the people’s attitude, within the society the...identity change - is a much greater challenge, than any

legislation. Of course...the NGOs are not wrong in their fear, that changes will actually alter the status quo. If somebody gains power somebody loses power. Of course they are aware of it. And we have to face the same question...on the central government [level] ...if we rock the boat and change things...somebody gains power and somebody loses power.

Q: Is it necessary?

A: For somebody's point of view it is always" (100-20-23-5:519-529) - indicates the head of e-Democracy department at sometimes paradoxical 'personal' consequences of social agency.

The experts of e-Democracy department were aware that "no single trick" could strengthen citizen participation and democracy - to rebuild citizen identity was a long-term and complex issue. An attitude change was necessary and it required focused interventions including changes in the system of education. It was important to catalyse dialogue also with and within the journalist society and media - besides NGOs and political parties - in order "to create worry within the whole society...about the future of our democracy"(100-20-23-5:731-733). To enhance transparency, provide accesses to information enabling to affect decision making and influence social processes had of paramount importance. However, the media had other focus and followed different logic. They "...don't actually give the citizens information...[which is] the necessary base for...action... as citizen"(100-20-23-5:578-579) not only as "consumers of democracy services" points out the coordinator of the e-Democracy department.

"A: Yes we look for the tools, but ...it's not just a question of tools. It's a question of skills and knowledge; it's a question of attitudes. What we actually try to do [it] is to influence the school system, we try to train and give new guidance to civil servants and we try to get bigger processes ...that might lead here. ...I don't even believe that the crisis will be the solution, because the crisis might not result a strong democracy. It might also result something quite else. If we have a society where the citizens are happy customers and don't have the citizen identity at all it's not just a question of offering new tools it's the question how to get build ... and it's a long way"(100-20-23-5:373-380) - emphasizes the expert the necessity to facilitate changes in the attitudes and catalyse feed backing long-term processes instead of introducing only technological tools.

"A: ...there is not a single trick that will do it. It's a question of offering the tools for people to participate. It's a question of influencing and changing the school system. It's a question of having a dialogue with the NGOs and the political parties. It's a question of having a dialogue within the journalist society. ...last week...we had some Finnish editors discussing about the question of journalism and the state of democracy. ...we witness change in the media. Media seeks only scandals, catastrophes, and interesting individual actors and doesn't...report the decision-making processes or the processes going on in the society. We don't actually give the citizens...necessary information, any necessary base for their action as citizen. ...some editors were...ready to have this dialogue and ...some...were very reluctant...

A: ...they think the freedom of speech is only for them and has nothing to do with the Ministry of Justice. But this is also something we do ...there is no single trick. It's a question of having...dialogue within the society - about what should be done"(100-20-23-5:571-589) -

describes the necessity to catalyse long-term dialogic change processes and facilitating combined transformations the head of the e-Democracy department.

In a “society of happy customers”, without adequate enhancement of citizen attitude, the deployment of new technical tools of e-Democracy won’t improve the situation. Even the awareness of the presence and strengthening of mass-alienation tendencies seemed to lack from the social agenda, not to mention the recognition of the necessity and urgency of tackle them. Therefore the e-Democracy department aimed to launch social dialogue to draw the attention of society on the presence of long-term negative tendencies threatening to hollow democracy by potentially bringing about dangerous consequences. To catalyse changes in attitudes and within society is a much greater challenge than any legislation - emphasizes the expert of e-Democracy. To prevent a crisis it was important to facilitate positive activism, avoiding emptying democratic mechanisms and catalysing genuine democratic participation.

“Q: Is alienation on the agenda...? In silent, conscious, gradual way making radical changes to diminish the alienation...

A: ...I think it’s something that is on our agenda. But the problem is that it is not on the society’s agenda... ..this delegation for information society issues...is one form of this sort of dialogue and...cooperation, but as I’ve said it’s not on its agenda... It is something that we want to push there”(100-20-23-5:420-428) - confirms the expert the necessity of systematic awareness creation.

“A: ...If we can’t change the direction of this process...going on we will...see the society only as network of customers that use services that enterprises offer them ...local and central government offers them...sort of democracy services... they are not citizens, but customers that use democracy services. I think this might lead to something very different.

Q: This is the case, when you have everything on the surface, but it’s empty...

A: Precisely, yes” (100-20-23-5:555-565) - points out the expert at the potential danger of “emptying” the democratic mechanisms that in the surface may seem properly operating.

“A: [According to widespread opinions the] ...Finnish society is so stable at the moment; everything is so good that people are not interested in participating [but if] bad times come they will be active again. Actually I don’t believe [that] if the tradition of democracy is forgotten it would be very easy to create it again. It won’t be. I do not believe ...when the bad times come people will start voting and building up NGOs. I think, that is the time, when they start burning the wheels and throwing the bottles... So this is very important, how we can activate people, how we can enable positive activism...”(100-20-23-5:346-352) - argues the coordinator of the e-Democracy department for the necessity to enhance positive activism and enhance genuine participation.

The local initiatives may generate positive tendencies in multiple ways and they can bring about even legislative changes - as the next part describes.

13/ Legislative change initiated locally in Turku - local agency⁵⁵⁹

The Turku Living Laboratory initiated to deploy video conferencing technology in frame of the Collaboration at Rural (C@R) EU project. The reform of the local authorities created “aggregated” local councils and their members frequently had to spend hours traveling back and forth among the often distant islands of Turku Archipelago. Although the video-conferencing ‘technically’ could provide the solution, according to the applicable Finnish legislation the members of local boards had to be present during the decision making.

“A: ...For us...the main...idea has been: how can you handle situation for a small community now when it’s merged to a bigger one with long distances? It’s almost impossible to have a well-functioning democratic structure [with] different parts of a very large area ...[How to create] possibilities to equally participate and have same knowledge and make sensible decisions and insure ...that these...rural areas in this new municipality have a decent place. ...solution [through video conferencing]...in a company [is] already...duly available... that could support the municipal process of decision making ...then we discover that it’s actually not even legal...

A: So the convincing thing came from the case: we are merging but it’s not going to work unless we can do this. It works in the private sector, why can’t it work in the municipal one. ...and then having contact network...to two ministers - being in positions of influence...”(100-20-22-5:122-144) - explains the deputy-major of the Turku Archipelago the ‘logic of intervention’ that the initiators of the successful legislative change followed.

The intense lobbying among politicians and decision makers⁵⁶⁰ enabled work meetings among experts of the Living Laboratory and the relevant ministries. The experts proposed amendments to applicable law delegating to local authorities the right to decide whether or not to allow participation in decision making via video technology. The draft indicated standards and conditions that local regulations had to consider in case a council decides to allow using video conferencing.

“A: ...If the municipality wants...they can decide [to allow to use] video conference... The chairman and the secretary have to be in the same place... But all the others can decide whether they want to participate...

Q: Personally or via video...

A: Yes! And they will be officially counted [as] voting and participating. Just like the people present [physically]...

⁵⁵⁹ This section elaborates on the successful initiative launched by the Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory resulting in legislative changes. Three interviews - with the coordinator of the project, the deputy-major of the Turku archipelago, and the expert of local authorities’ regulation in Ministry of Finance - serve as sources of presenting the case.

⁵⁶⁰ The residents of the Turku Archipelago belong to the Swedish minority and the representatives of the Swedish People’s Party are present in most Finnish governments what helped to establish contacts with decision makers in the government and the parliament.

Q: You create a law which will say that the local authority can decide whether they accept participation through video conferencing.

A: Yes!

...Q: It's their responsibility. So you are delegating the decision.

A: ...and the community must organize it ...they have to make sure that they have...facilities for everybody ...there are...many different kinds of communities: big cities, Archipelago type [locations] ...in Northern Finland...big distances ...different problems...why it is not so easy to participate. ...they can decide and make their own rules ...this is allowed by this law”(100-20-12-5:113-133) - points out the expert of the local authorities department of the Ministry of Finance at the advantage of delegating the decision to the councils.

The proposed amendments gained support among relevant stakeholders and decision makers due to the coincidence of various favourable tendencies. One of them turned to be that Finland could become the first country in the EU regulating and allowing deploying video technology in local decision making. Additionally, the proposed changes represented a new, enabling approach in regulation, which could be characteristic for the emerging knowledge societies. The legal work followed enabling and empowering rather than prescriptive and prohibitive approach and it let a broad sphere of manoeuvre also for the local governments. The proposed regulation raised broad interest among local authorities. Besides those located in rural and distant areas, also councils in bigger cities turned to be interested, because due to heavy traffic the participation on various meetings often required long travel time although distances were shorter. The proposal also fitted with the developments connected to the ongoing public administration reform aiming to deliver better services for the citizens by using video technology.

“A: Yes! ...the timing was proper. The political situation was right... ...these little municipalities are in Swedish speaking area. The Swedish Party and the minister in this party were active. They were talking in...the government ...it's so easy to do things if all parties and the government is agreeing. It took only...half year to make because there were no problems [during the preparation]”(100-20-12-5:35-40) - points out at the importance of coalition building the expert of the local authorities department in the Ministry of Finance.

“A: ...we have told...to our minister that there are some interests from the Commission. ...Finland wants to be [a forerunner] of these developments...

A: So it might have some positive effect.

...A: There is one big project that concerns how the communities should organize services [and provide them to citizens]...for example [through] video conference. ...state services are now concentrating in...big cities [by] closing down offices in the little places. ...there is a big project...actually ...in every local centrum...should be an office [where] ...people can ...have [access to] services via video conference. ...video conference facilities there ...are ...for multiple purposes.

A: But this...EU project [in Turku] ...is an example how to make it work ...to organize [it] in one sample community. ...And it's “real”...they now have an opportunity to do...”(100-20-

12-5:67-87) - describes the feed backing tendencies enabling the unexpected success of the initiative an expert from Ministry of Finance.

The favourable context facilitated the smooth parliamentary approval of the proposed amendment. It was an outcome going beyond the expectations of the initiators who hoped to grant approval for a limited size, real life experiment in frame of the Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory. However, by reframing local issues into initiative that was relevant in (much) broader context allowed ‘sponsoring’ even legislative change(s) enabling to find effective solution for the local challenges. The systematic identification of various interests, preferences and benefits of multiple stakeholders brought about an unexpected success.

“Q: ...cooperating this is usually a...co-creation; you are creating solutions, ideas... Can it create “flow” ...positive emotional support that in turn motivates to cooperate, to co-create something? Can it help in your work for example? ...

A: That’s actually very critical. That’s one of the key issues ...it’s...almost impossible to do something without that ...Especially in a changing society... There are so many interests groups. They have different opinions and interests ...”bulldozing through” an idea only means that you have five guys willing to shoot you down regardless if the idea is good or not... ...you have political parties, you have all kind of interest groups, you have people working in the municipality, etc., and you have your family. All of these have opinions and thoughts and you probably need to check with these ...by having a dialog and discussion I believe you have this creative process... For example it’s a problem that we have to travel long distances. What can you do? You can buy new ...faster ferries or you can somehow change the way we are meeting. And you can discuss about these with different interest groups, and you say: actually I would like this, but I don’t think it’s realistic so we do this. You check and say: Well. ...it is possible. By this you are strengthening the profile and at the same time perhaps getting certain acceptance as a commitment. ...By this you are also building acceptance before you go on and actually do it. Especially in societal issues... it’s much more complex and that’s why this whole process of creating a snowball effect actually has key importance. Regardless of how good the idea is ...it’s going to be shot down”(100-20-22-5:178-214) - explains the deputy-major of the Turku Archipelago the importance of dialogic involvement generation enabling to create supportive coalitions.

Although the amendment⁵⁶¹ provided an enabling legal background the practical implementation required systematic and patient convincing as the deputy-major emphasizes:

“A: Then you have the cultural [aspect] that most of these persons...haven’t used it... ...this sounds strange. How could it work? I want to see somebody face to face... So...it’s going to

⁵⁶¹ Actually the amendment holds the name of the locality on the Archipelago launching the initiative.

be a culturally long road I believe. And first some smaller meetings have to be tested, let's try and see how it works. And then some...tell you it was horrible and some...tell it was pretty Ok ...I'm surprised, because I expected it will be a total disaster..."(100-20-22-5:153-159) - describes the deputy major typical phases of the practical implementation of new ideas.

The legal change provided favourable conditions to enhance transparency and broaden participation, i.e. it created also an improved potential for participation and enhanced capability for effective agency by catalysing the residents' self-empowerment.

The new regulation by allowing participation in decision making through the virtual space could offer significant time savings to the municipal representatives. The video technology could create also favourable conditions for the residents' enhanced participation in preparation of the local decision making. It could facilitate to mobilize also new candidates who - due to busy schedule in their permanent job - could not afford to spend time by frequently traveling to meetings.

"Q: ...This law, can it really influence daily life...can it make people... more empowered?

A: It now enables persons to join...[to the work of] these decision making organs ...otherwise they could not [do]. Let's say a person in normal day to day business living...out there on one of the islands in the Archipelago. ...There is no chance...this person being able to participate in municipal decision making ...now with this solution it's going to be possible.

A: ...in this way you are more empowered and equal. You have the chance at least. Then it's another question ...if somebody wants to participate or not"(100-20-22-5:144-153) - describes the deputy-major of Turku Archipelago the broader the empowering potential of their initiative through facilitating participation and agency.

The legal change allowing implementing enabling technology may enhance also local e-Democracy developments - as the next section discusses in details.

14/ Local e-Democracy in Aba - structured self-organization through e-Democracy⁵⁶²

Aba, a small locality in South-Western Hungary, capitalized systematically on innovative approaches starting from the early 90s. The Telehouse provided access to modern information-communication technologies for the residents while their relatively recent participative local democracy program aimed to deploy new e-Democracy solutions including to carry out regularly e-Plebiscites. The local council upon the initiative of the energetic major

⁵⁶² The case describes the efforts aiming to develop local participative democracy in a rural micro-region located in (South-) Western Hungary. A recurring dialogue with participants of the informal network of local leaders (the major of Aba, the coordinator of the expert team) and the archival research (strategies, expert documents, and press materials) serve as sources of the case presentation.

systematically consults and cooperates with experts, elaborates and implements interconnected, long-term development strategies⁵⁶³. The residents' systematic involvement generated positive atmosphere that fed back with the residents' perception of continues development taking place in this small city⁵⁶⁴.

The new strategies starting from the early 2000s focused on e-Democracy related efforts and mobilized the local civil society in order to facilitate the micro-region's successful catch up by joining to the emerging European and Hungarian knowledge society:

„Our vision is till the years 2010 transform Aba into one of the *most attractive (knowledge-driven) small town* and the Sárvíz into *one of the most dynamically developing (simultaneously tradition and future centred) micro-region* [italics in original]”(100-20-64-21:2) - summarize their tasks the mayor of Aba and the coordinator of the expert group involved in the e-Democracy program.

The emerging “...visions of future demonstrated positive effect by reaching every individual resident and becoming accepted by them... It facilitated to overcome the blurredness of options for action, which is the biggest (and frequently unrecognized) obstacle of acting. The citizens possess willingness to help and it is relatively easy to mobilize them to work for the sake of a good cause...”(100-20-64-21:12) - points out an expert at the crucial importance of the mobilizing visions.

The proposed e-Democracy project aimed from the beginning to overcome massive disempowering tendencies as the manifesto of the mayor of Aba pointed out:

“Well, here we are today! We caused so many injuries, humiliation, and pain to each other that it makes almost impossible to dialogue with each other, to listen to one another, to work together. Formulating sharply we lack a sense of community and personal happiness, and exceptions just strengthen the rule. This situation manifests itself in the fact that... we miss a social contract in both unwritten and written forms...”(100-20-64-16:4).

The proposed roadmap, which offered concrete ways and steps for collective self-empowerment, successfully mobilized the residents. The elaboration and signature of a local social contract was connected to the election of civilian representatives of the residents living on the same street. The successful elections of “street parliaments” enabled to establish also a micro-regional Magistrate⁵⁶⁵ which was imagined to serve as domain of multi-level structured

⁵⁶³ Aba has also its „Blue Ocean Strategy”.

⁵⁶⁴ Aba is one of the smallest (with circa 4600 residents) and newest cities of Hungary, located on the (South-) Western part of the country, in the agglomeration of the modern industrial centre Székesfehérvár. It was long time the “capital” of a micro-region consisting of 9 locations (including Aba) with a population of below 30.000. http://www.menetredek.net/telepules_lakossaga/aba_lakossaga_abai_lakosok_lakossagszama_aba_2894.php

⁵⁶⁵ The Magistrate consists of elected representatives of (i) “street parliaments”, (ii) various civil society organizations, (iii) firms and business associations, (iv.) churches, and (v) members of the municipal council.

dialogue among the civil societies of the neighbouring localities. The Magistrate's task was to catalyse structured dialogue. It also drafted a local social contract aiming to develop local participative democracy and was responsible to lead the design and practical implementation of local e-Plebiscites and other innovative components of the e-Democracy program.

„The substance of the model that Aba proposes is...a multiplied representation and its combination with structured dialogue enabling shared local-governance, which can be developed into participative and e-Democracy”(100-20-64-21:13) - points out the expert describing the e-Democracy program.

The “...participative democracy may become real and effective when e-Self-governance and e-Public administration become operational by enabling the Magistrate to initiate *digital plebiscite* on various issues [italics in original]”(100-20-64-21:13) - emphasizes the expert of the e-Democracy program.

The enhancement of the participative democracy facilitated the residents' active involvement into local public affairs by contributing to create collective visions constitutive of their collective identity. Both the strategies and efforts aiming their implementation devoted much attention to emotional aspects what helped to (re-)generate a positive local atmosphere. In that context symbolic importance had that in 2013, after decade long efforts Aba officially became a city. The citizens appreciated this symbolic achievement - as well as the improvements in the services and the steady growth of the population⁵⁶⁶. I.e. the envisioned e-Democracy program successfully mobilized the local civil society - although the implementation of many components requires further efforts.

Although Aba followed the “structured self-organization” (Leadbeater, 2006) model in a sense it acted also as a Living Laboratory. The innovative solutions constitutive of the envisioned local participative democracy program successfully mobilized the residents “to work for the sake of a good cause...”(100-20-64-21:12). The local developments in Aba indicated the crucial importance of the local civil society's active involvement - what the next section also confirms.

⁵⁶⁶ <http://www.origo.hu/itthon/20130722-riport-a-varossa-avatott-csakvarrol-es-abarol.html>

15/ Civil society development in Veresegyház – the importance of the involvement⁵⁶⁷

Another example of the importance of participation provides the developments in Veresegyház. The city follows successfully a structured self-organization (Leadbeater, 2006) strategy, and the mayor acts as enabler and facilitator⁵⁶⁸, shapes visions and meaning, i.e. “leads through words” (Plowman et al., 2007a) and also controls directly the concrete daily tasks. He is a true “long-distance runner”⁵⁶⁹ who works as head of the local decision making body more than 50 years. The mayor is available for the residents any time and he cooperates very actively with (potential) stakeholders and partners⁵⁷⁰, including the local leaders’ informal network.

Veresegyház became a sample of systematic, long-term development that successfully orchestrated multiple efforts and continuously broadened local capabilities and capacities. The city located in the agglomeration of Budapest has virtually no unemployment rather the local economy⁵⁷¹ provides jobs for commuters arriving from other locations, including the capital. The city has growing population - a rare exception in a country with long-term negative demographic tendencies⁵⁷². The local civil society remained much less “politicized” and divided than the ‘national average’, although party politics played negative role also here⁵⁷³.

The local leaders’ informal network in 2002 proposed to carry out pilot projects capable providing best practices that could be implemented also elsewhere during the preparation of Hungary’s accession to the European Union (2004). The proposed pilot program received budgetary funding from the government after the 2002 elections⁵⁷⁴. A former CEO of a global pharmaceutical company’s local plant volunteered to coordinate the program. He initiated to

⁵⁶⁷ The case describes the failure of a project aiming to develop the local civil society in a micro-region in the agglomeration of Budapest. The participative observation and the recurring dialogue with the participants of the local leaders’ informal network (the mayor of Veresegyház, the coordinator of the pilot project) serve as sources of the case presentation.

⁵⁶⁸ In the 80’s following his initiative the residents reconstructed the platform on the railway station in Budapest which that time most of them used by commuting to their work places.

⁵⁶⁹ In 2015 was the 50 anniversary.

⁵⁷⁰ His active participation played a key role in convincing the decision makers of the GE to locate their new large-scale turbine manufacturing facility in the city despite that other candidates had much better accessibility.

⁵⁷¹ The GE is the third biggest producer of the Hungarian GDP and its two major production and service facilities are located in Veresegyház.

⁵⁷² Declining population; growing ratio of elderly citizens; increasing migration toward Western Europe of more mobile, mostly young people; deteriorating health indicators; growing number and ratio of low income and poorly educated - are some of feed backing negative tendencies at national level.

⁵⁷³ Certain parties made robust, but highly un-successful efforts during elections in 2010 and 2014 to replace the mayor with their “own candidates”. Nevertheless the number of council members acting as independent (from political parties) candidates and supporting the mayor’s “line” has increased.

⁵⁷⁴ Since the membership was to bring about significant increase in accessible EU funds similar pilots offering “multipliable solutions” could contribute to success of modernization efforts also at national level.

establish a management unit by employing experts with significant experience in market sector projects. The proposed program embraced numerous fields ranging from the (re-) development of the rather unique local micro-regional healthcare centre, through the extension of the industrial parks, till a project aiming to develop the local civil societies in the micro-region⁵⁷⁵.

However, the projects' planning was not coordinated with (representatives of) the local civil societies. The entire program, even the project aiming local civil society development, followed strictly top-down approach what was the diametrical opposite of the open and engaging workstyle characteristic for Veresegyház. The lack of information, not to mention the engagement or ownership, led to a mixture of indifference and growing disaffection on behalf of the local civil society. The new community spaces or local clubs offering good conditions for various activities established in every locality of the micro-region remained unutilized most of the time. The criticism strengthened since the program that utilised significant budgetary financing failed to address important and growingly urgent local issues. The (mis-)management of the project criticized also the members of the local leaders' informal network and it created increasing personal confrontation between the program coordinator and the major of Veresegyház.

A focal source of the conflict became that the program failed to address the lack of capacities in schools. In frame of the innovative micro-regional educational system the pupils had to commute daily by dedicated minibuses between the existing local schools⁵⁷⁶. However, the project did not handle the growing capacity bottle neck, what threatened with the "forced" removal move of the young families with schoolchildren to Budapest or other cities in the agglomeration. The major of Veresegyház convinced the local council to "jumpstart" the construction of a school of "the XXII Century" by taking sizable bank loan. When the project management unit ceased to exist due to termination of the budgetary financing the maintenance of the capacities that the program created - including the established community areas - became the local councils' responsibility. These developments increased the criticism of the program among the residents.

The attempt to generate local development (model) without cooperation without involving the local players proved to be the "recipe to fall". It was the complete opposite of the open and

⁵⁷⁵ The micro-region consist of 8 localities (including Veresegyház), its population in 2002 was close to 30.000.

⁵⁷⁶ The participating schools specialised on particular subjects (from language teaching till geo-informatics).

proactive approach characterising the city⁵⁷⁷ and driving its successful development. It turned to be especially harmful in context of efforts aiming to develop the local civil society. The program's 'exclusivity' generated negative public perception, and serious tensions and mistrust among members of the local leaders' informal network⁵⁷⁸. To overcome disempowering effects causing significant damages to local and micro-regional developments turned out to be a rather difficult, time and resource-intensive exercise. Despite its partial achievements the program was generally perceived as a failure; in a sense the enhanced appreciation of the local culture focusing on involvement and enabling remained its 'positive yield'.

Four of the explored 21 case-communities (Table N 5) are related to efforts aiming to promote participation and social agency through self-organizing (local) experiments with e-Democracy solutions. The Finnish cases confirm the importance and robust potential of participation at national level (*e-Democracy networks*) and exemplify that skilful management of local initiative(s) may generate also successful legislative changes (*Turku Archipelago Living Laboratory*). The consequent involvement and mobilization of the local civil society is a precondition of (generating) effective and sustainable changes as both Hungarian cases (*Aba* and *Veresegyház*) indicate. The residents' skilful engagement may enable to co-create new and improve existing local capabilities and capacities by facilitating successful development also in disadvantaged and underdeveloped areas - similar to the micro-region surrounding Aba. By contrast, without involving local players even the deployment of professional tools and methods create a high risk of failure and unsustainability of the (positive) outcomes - also in successfully developing micro-regions like the one surrounding Veresegyház. Consequently, the systematic mobilization of the local (and locally available) resources may simultaneously facilitate improved access also to external funding by providing an improved capacity of agency. However, even significant (external) financing may fail to produce good and sustainable results if they miss to ensure local participation.

The search of effective local solutions may capitalise on social innovations, including e-Democracy initiatives catalysing new forms of participative democracy. Similar efforts may facilitate the civil society players' (self-) empowerment from local till national levels in

⁵⁷⁷ The described approach and developments were a practical "antithesis" of the Living Laboratories.

⁵⁷⁸ The informal network of leaders played a crucial enabling role in the successes of decade-long local developments.

diverse contexts. I.e. the innovative forms of participative democracy⁵⁷⁹ interplaying with association-prone institutional constellation may catalyse (self-) empowering social agency⁵⁸⁰. To facilitate mass-engagement or motivated participation become growingly important also in and for the market sector players since the company competitiveness may growingly depend on phenomena similar to open innovation and sharing transformation - as the next cluster indicates.

Sharing transformations

16/ Networking communities in company ecosystems - mobilize external resources⁵⁸¹

The competition for external resources through extended corporate innovation ecosystems capitalizing on open innovation can be seen as new and increasingly important field of competition. The intensifying “rivalry of innovation ecosystems...”(100-20-7-5:787) create non-traditional challenges even for global players.

“A: ...[The IBM is] ...one of the few companies who really understand and are trying to actively manage or...orchestrate...something which happens largely outside their company borders... ...[they try to] understand what the new thing would be... and...what ...role for IBM [it provides]...to make business. But it starts from the real problem of the world ...to solve them together and they bring some other competencies to solve it. ...most companies...are not very good in that yet. But they want to earn it. ...you [have to clarify] how...to motivate... You have well known carrots and sticks and sometimes it...does not work [even inside] if you don’t give the people the meaningful vision of the company ...[nevertheless] in an organization like a company you can directly influence people much more than in an open...source or open innovation environment where everybody is voluntarily participating. ...what are the ways of motivating and orchestrating these people... making them committed ...understanding...motivational factors ...what makes these people [to participate] ...how to make things happen and how to keep people motivated...That is a crucial ...question.

Q: Can I translate what you said that for a company to be competitive today the question will be how much they can orchestrate new networks?

A: Yeah!

Q: Which are reaching fare broader...

A: ...outside...

Q: ...then the legal entity? That is the new field of competition and competences?

A: That is very much the new field of competition where apart from IBM most companies are practitioners. None of them are very good at it”(100-20-9-5:127-151) - points out the former top manager of a global company at the growing importance of accessing external resources often through various forms of open innovation in order to be competitive.

⁵⁷⁹ In a sense they are extended versions of “life-sharing” discussed above in details.

⁵⁸⁰ The enhanced participation may also interplay with growing self- and social consciousness or increased reflectivity, reflexivity, and knowledgeability (Giddens, 1984).

⁵⁸¹ The case describes how interactions with - often networked - communities may contribute to competitiveness of firms by providing access to external resources. Interviews with two key managers and with a crowd sourcing expert of a global company, and with experts from the Oulu University serve as sources of the case presentation.

The extended cooperation with diverse communities of volunteers can provide innovative proposals, often quite elaborated solutions, i.e. valuable resources for companies. However, to manage these resources brings about challenging tasks. The firms should learn to act as enablers and also to participate as regular players in cooperative efforts often consisting of individuals and small entities.

“A: ...there was a market demand to not only bring users for the ...open process ...but also [achieve their] becoming...innovators and producers of the solution. ...the realization made us to try...to see if...the specialized user communities, those who can design, [can also] make a better product. And it seemed that they were able to ...[the crowd- and] outsourcing ...the million minds are more efficient than if 5000 engineers...start to look at creating new services. ...of course, they don’t come into...[corporate] efficiency in designing new services ...it is...large evolution of small services coming into the market when you provide those tools to them. The challenge...is that you have emerged new small businesses, they come and go, they create something, and they die. ...[you should] push them forward to global market ...very few of those communities had the competences of further developing their services ...to start...to do new...global release management.... So then [comes the company’s] role to help those small communities ...help them to become...partners...that ...have the competences and the...physical networks and some organizational structures. Otherwise, [the company] has to take over. ...there is always...dialogue ...[through] open source work with [us] a lot of companies have improved their capability of making global businesses... If it’s not happening, then we...do it ourselves or we buy the small innovative companies”(100-20-5-5:46-65) - explains the challenges from corporate point of view the open innovation expert of a global company.

The open innovation requires significant changes in the companies’ work. They have to learn to cooperate on equal footing with many other participants of self-organizing open innovation efforts. To gain access to solutions that voluntarily cooperating participants co-create requires patient collaboration with many, often very small firms, as well as with the companies’ competitors (100-20-7-5:680). They have to amend and alter “traditional” business models to find patterns allowing monetizing the shared outcome value of the collaborative efforts and transforming it into (a source of) profit. Increasing competitive pressures generate the necessity to participate despite all related challenges. The firms have to open up their proprietary source codes for all participants even to start cooperation with the open source communities.

“A:...Somebody might say that why the heck [to open up source codes?] ...[Well]...because ...the Palm and the Blackberry and...especially the Apple source is very closed. ...they are not willing to share the value that they are now creating with the large user communities ...I mean the monetary value, the business value. Of course the usage value...comes. ...Apple has so strong followers...competent users ...[who are ready] even designing for them...free of

charge. ...other companies in the mobility [business] do not have that luxury, so we have to...open more the door for the communities, these development and design communities”(100-20-5-5:78-86) - describes an expert of a global company the new type of market pressures forcing companies to compete in and through open innovation.

The firms often initiate and generate community networks serving as catalytic platforms, whose membership may exceed also a few million persons⁵⁸². It is necessary to clarify and learn the modalities and practicalities of daily cooperation with large number and various types of participants whose motivation and approach follow different patterns. The enabling, orchestration and soft-management of collaboration in frame of large-scale entities require mastery and effectiveness in network governance, an uncharted territory for many companies.

“A: ...[the external communities are] partially self-organizing, but ...we could also assign a task and encourage with...incentives to do certain developments... But, ...how to manage open source communities? They have to have their own autonomy and we do not want to... I mean we have presence in many forums, let's say, on the internet. But not necessarily wanting to interfere. ...There are always developer communities...when some knew comes ...new devices, etc. ...”(100-20-7-5:260-266) - indicates some peculiarities of cooperation between companies and open innovation communities the crowdsourcing expert of a global company.

Since open innovation often generates many new initiatives, models, solutions their processing requires significant resources. The companies and the participants of their external ecosystems have to go through mutual learning curve.

“A: ...if I look ...how we done it earlier...when we let our flowers flourish... It went up ...something like ...5.000 applications developed by our ...community, it is the ...challenge. Q: But is it a filtering capacity? Can this community start to narrow down or they offer different things just by pouring them on you ...then you ...see what is good or not too good... A: Well, I must say that, this is a learning curve”(100-20-7-5:271-283) - points out the crowd sourcing expert of a global company at peculiarities of “processing” with limited internal corporate resources the rich output that open innovation generates.

The effective collaboration requires deploying and learning to capitalize on non-traditional tools similar to open licenses and standards characterising the open source approach - as discussed in the following part.

⁵⁸² The membership of the Forum Nokia rapidly grew beyond four million volunteer participants.

17/ Open source communities - alternative company model⁵⁸³

The company ecosystems frequently include and cooperate with open source communities⁵⁸⁴. The open source approach the programmers originally ‘invented’ in order to contact software users directly by circumventing through self-organizing peer production (Benkler, 2006) the ‘costly’ mediation of firms. The capability of flexible and rapid co-creation of high-quality outcome is an important driver of the open source approach, its growing success in a broadening range from car industry till agriculture, i.e. in many fields by going beyond the software creation.

The volunteer, inherently motivated co-operators follow a meritocratic approach in their self-organizing open source communities which are self-governing and extremely independent. In these communities also large, global companies have to participate “on an equal footing” in the collaborative efforts similarly to the other, mostly much smaller members. In order to get access to the collectively elaborated innovations the participating companies have to adapt to the common agenda and work-patterns of the volunteer co-operators. Additionally the firms have to find non-traditional, flexible business models “mobilizing” shared value in order to generate financial value.

“A: ...the open source design communities ...are extremely independent. They don’t want ...top down ...position with [us]. ...they try [to follow] their agenda and we have to...adapt to their agenda. So with them it’s like giving...freedom to test or utilize our tools and our platforms for their innovation. And then [to] see...understanding how to share the...outcome value when you open up your platforms, your tools for open innovation... You give up your source code”(100-20-5-5:71-76) - explains the expert of a global company the challenges that firms have to tackle why they try to engage with open source communities under growing market pressures.

Since the open source communities rely on transparency and passionate co-creation by focusing on quality and effectiveness they are capable to achieve competitiveness and even supremacy in comparison to the companies. The early and frequent releases of new versions, and the Internet enabled dialogues (with global reach) facilitate to identify and correct errors, “bugs” in software and other collaborative “products”. The cooperative efforts capitalize on

⁵⁸³ The case describes tendencies characteristic for the open source communities. The interview with three experts who participate in volunteer cooperation and also in the work of the Hungarian Free Software Association serves as primary source of the presentation.

⁵⁸⁴ The Open Source Communities possess special features, altered forms of management and leadership, with new ways of control and governance (Raymond, 2001; Feller et al. (ed.), 2005; Krishnamurthy, 2005; Shirky, 2005; Benkler, 2006) that provide an altered structural dynamism. Lessig (2004) discusses the Creative Commons type licenses as a less-restrictive mechanism and way to create and transfer knowledge within and between communities and networks.

brainstorming techniques and other dialogic solution-settings that catalyse the emerging focus, reveal closeness of and may create unanimity in opinions regarding the proper strategy and solutions. This pattern combines openness and cooperation and may accelerate significantly the development of high-quality products. Due to their strong motivation, broad collaboration and sharing the participants are able to deliver high quality results often quicker than market players do.

“A2: The fundamental principle of the free software is the early and frequent release of new versions. The first ones are practically unusable.

A: It’s an adventure to use them...

A2: Still after half a year they often make daily releases that yet frequently contain serious errors. Nevertheless this approach allows achieving a result that proprietary development may produce from 5 to 8 years”(100-20-61-5:309-316) - explain two volunteer experts from the Hungarian Ubuntu community how openness and cooperation may bring about effectiveness.

The participating companies provide - often rather significant - resources including the contributions of their experts and also financing that may allow remuneration for volunteering participants⁵⁸⁵. Nevertheless, the collaborative solutions’ open licensing by deploying sophisticated legal techniques ensures free and open access and high level of flexibility in implementation and guarantees “the freedom of sharing”. The output of the collaborative efforts would remain freely accessible and sharable, on the one hand, while it also allows creating further applications aiming profit generation by following the proprietary model, on the other hand.

The open source approach exhibits a practical alternative, a new, “open model of enterprise” of emerging knowledge economy which allows achieving high professional quality and effectiveness. It may enable to avoid characteristic for the market players “side-effects” connected with requirements aiming to maximize share value and to optimize profit in short term. I.e. by facilitating and capitalizing on self-organizing collaboration they may provide also a potential alternative for firms operating in the knowledge economy. As Nonaka et al. (2008) points out the enhancement of the creativity and the ability to innovate require altered relationships and community-like changes in and community-enhanced transformations of firms. In order to improve their access to external resources the companies may capitalize also on partnering through the Living Laboratories - as the following section discusses.

⁵⁸⁵ The remuneration of volunteers may be comparable with the salaried employees of the companies.

18/ Living Laboratories - sharing and transformation through open innovation⁵⁸⁶

The Living Laboratories offer simultaneously (i) the concept of combined physical and virtual space as real life laboratory, (ii) a pattern enabling extended collaboration among large number of potential stakeholders, (iii) a methodology of catalysing open, user driven innovation, and (iv.) growingly global networking among volunteer partners. They facilitate the practical implementation of the quadruple helix enhancing open innovation also through catalysing broad cooperation through their pan-European network established in 2006. The practical facilitation of self-organizing open innovation generates challenges which are far from trivial since to establish and run Living Laboratories requires among others non-conventional conceptual knowledge and (soft-) management skills.

“C: Quality shift, paradigm shift perhaps it’s a development [process]... The basic in this Living Lab concept is brilliant - to get the innovation flow through the feedback. Perhaps we speak about the creativity of the society... Perhaps some new are also needed here to see [beyond] the technology ...the application ...that is using it... That is in all Finnish Living Laboratories a problem. We are...used to ...that the technology solves the problems. In many cases solves, in other cases it brings more problems. But when we look at what the demand is in service sector ...there are a lot of need for new solutions”(100-20-16-5:363-374).

“...C: I was thinking in this value chain (drawing). When speak of testbeds this part of value chain is working as a Living Lab but getting this feedback which is the basic idea of the Living Laboratories as a whole to get...users, normal people involved... No one is close to that concept yet”(100-20-1-5:230-235) - points out a professor of the Oulu University at the necessity and difficulty to break path dependence and upgrade the very successful triple helix to a quadruple helix through capitalizing on Living Laboratories.

Indeed, the rapidly growing network had lacking training capacities, the (daily) contacts among the first Living Laboratories were random or missing, and the EU financing in the beginning was connected to enabling technology take up rather than supporting the specific requirements of the open innovation. The emerging Living Laboratories proved to provide flexible frame for user driven innovation which could embrace small groups of farmers as well as entire regions or the whole metropolitan area of Finland. Due to this broad diversity of the participants the practical outcomes were highly variable and context dependent. The sustainability of the local results required the conscious systematic management of the social capital as well as trust creation and maintenance, and often was related to social innovations. The Living Laboratories frequently could capitalize on self-organizing communities enabling sharing and multiplication of locally available resources.

⁵⁸⁶ The case describes tendencies characteristic for the Living Laboratories which catalyse user-driven open innovation. Interviews with the participants of eight Living Laboratories and with key experts of the concept serve as sources of the case presentation.

“A: ...First of all ...the theory itself is quite blurred... The first task is to make...LL thinking much ...clearer. ...What does it mean for the enterprise, what does it mean from the point of view of the universities and education? I think that the right place to develop LL in the state is the economic development⁵⁸⁷ ...should be much more knowledge and awareness about LLs in the state. ...politicians...don’t know what it means.

Q: It is strange; Finland launched LLs in the European Union during its presidency in 2006.

A: Yeah. It was a good start, but for some reason the state did not take any leadership... when we established the European Network of Living Laboratories...they gave the power to some very small organizations like us or like...Forum Virium... It did not get any...tangible touch the state processes and organizations. ...only know...three years [later]...they think ...whether the state should take some kind of actions, whether there should be some officials who know what LL is. It seems that they have just started it but then they forgot it. ...at the state level we don’t have any coordination...

Q: And the European network? Is it coordinating? ...more than two years...they were creating an association. Does it have influence or still ... you should do everything on your own.

A: ...we are starting all the cases and ...projects quite from...zero. ...of course it is much better now that we know ...there are friends, and ...companies, and ...organizations, which we can contact, and ...discuss, should this and this be a good idea... I think in the beginning it was ...misleading both on the state side and on the European level... ...in Finland we...went too fast in [raising the level]... We thought that everybody is having good will and it is just working by itself. ...probably...we should first examine our neighbourhood, like...Nordic countries and like St Petersburg. ...we went right in the middle of Europe. ...then it was...confusion ...from my [point of view] the ENOLL...grows too fast. It was just... expanding, take more members ...I would argue that the content and the true understanding about LLs ...was...missing. ...it was like a wine yard ...just increased the production, but nobody took care of the quality”(100-20-3-5:487-528) - sums up his critical observations the director of the Arabianranta service company by indicating the lack of theoretical clarity and a hard core focusing on quality in a quickly broadening network of the Living Laboratories.

Despite the shortcomings the rapidly globalizing networks of Living Laboratories proved to be flexible enough and capable to operate at various levels and contexts. They could catalyse high tech products and services in matured markets as well as “low tech” solutions to fulfil basic local needs in transition economies. In developing countries the Living Laboratories worked with local user communities what facilitated to mobilize huge, untapped capacities and resources. The “virgin” markets in developing countries could offer new, effective forms and ways of networking since they often were free from legacies and dominance patterns that companies generate on matured markets. The Living Laboratories could connect innovative local user communities from the virgin markets with diverse actors of the developed

⁵⁸⁷ The governmental experts”...were thinking whether it should be in the cultural department, or social development department...? Probably because the LL ...has been ...lately [related to] welfare, social development... Like solving the elderly people problem, solving the social questions ...how you can keep fit the elderly people, and how you can increase our health? But, ...that its only one minor segment of ...the LL ...welfare and social questions... ...it is in the right track...[to tackle it] in the economic department...”(100-20-3-5:491-497) emphasizes the director of the Arabianranta service company the importance to focus on the LL’s capacity to facilitate overall economic development.

economies by offering the potential to generate “reverse flows” by transferring innovations from less developed areas to the matured markets.

“A: ...[the Living Laboratories may] react...on ideas ...initiated in actual user communities and ...start identifying such areas where...user community could ...work on further development and even production of services ...Create Living Labs ...are...early lead markets in those areas ...A good test [is] for them if they can attract...companies ...Sometimes these...”virgin markets”, where ...legacy of companies doing things on the old way [is missing]...could become and prove to be the most interesting...like the South African [Living Laboratory] case...where we would...transfer [local solutions]...to developed economies”(100-20-5-5:132-153) - explain the advantages of Living Laboratories the expert who was one of the concept’s creators.

“A: ...these people who really have the needs and are in a transition stage of their society, when they get some new ways of managing them, they can come up with much more innovative systems that we [can] feedback to this...so called developed Western world. I don’t know how that would exactly happen but like...

Q: ... but it happened...

A: Yes, and one possible [consequence]...I mean as a business sense ...we can involve people who are hardly literate to create new services ...you can change the balance of power and this is what...we are looking...very much...”(100-20-10-5:466-476) - elaborates on potential broader, societal effects of the Living Laboratories the expert from the Helsinki University knowing their both theoretical, academic and practical, entrepreneurial aspects.

The open innovation through the Living Laboratories may and does mobilize end-users also on developed markets by generating new solutions and services.

“A: ...it is the Arabianranta case where place matters. Place oriented way of doing it. And here ...the role of citizens...and civil society is very visible. Also this elderly people house, Loppukiri, which is an amazing example of how old ladies are... They say: We are the Living Laboratory! And are very proud of it...”(100-20-8-5:336-340) - describes the mobilizing and empowering potential of the Living Laboratories the director of economic development department of the Helsinki city council.

The Living Laboratories through facilitating open innovation simultaneously catalyse transformations that strengthen sharing as the characteristic mechanism of exchange (and enactment). They bring about changes and transformations in multiple dimensions⁵⁸⁸ compared to traditional market organizations and at the same time their importance increases for company competitiveness by providing access to external resources. I.e. the Living Laboratories facilitate alterations also in ways of generating economic value and catalyse transformations in the interplay between economic and social value and ways of their creation - as the following part discusses.

⁵⁸⁸ The Living Laboratories may create and utilise robust creative potential through qualitative shifts in activities of participants, they facilitate and capitalise on networking self-upgrading as discussed in subchapter 3.4.

19/ Changes in value creation - economic value through social value⁵⁸⁹

The growing significance of (the access to) external resources for the company competitiveness interplays with changes in institutional and relational dynamics bringing about altered patterns of value and wealth creation. These changes affect also (the operation of) financial organizations and may catalyse profound innovations such as social banking. The effectiveness in “traditional organizations” of the financial sector may also capitalize on attentive and caring relationships and the readiness to “listen to” the employees. Such tendencies may feedback with networking and horizontalization by creating more collaborative atmosphere and catalysing the transformation in the perception of employees by seeing them as co-workers with enhanced intrinsic motivation. The more cooperative relationships at work may also contribute to improving the quality of services what has growing significance for the financial firms’ competitiveness. The creation and mobilization of abundant social capital facilitate to generate economic value and to re-couple it with social value and wealth in many ways.

“A: ...it...is a Danish bank and it has grown in Denmark ...during last five years more than the other banks.

A: The younger generation sees ...that kind of banking business is...healthy. And more and more clients come in”(100-20-4-5:502-506).

“A: ...we have...many [similar] banks like...Triodos from Holland and Ekobanken in Sweden, Cultura in Norway and ...Merkur in Denmark and in Finland...[also] in Germany ...and ...in Europe”(100-20-4-5:528-530) - describes a board member the social bank’s spread in Europe.

“A: ...in the bank ...the main processes are connected with ...instrumental quality. ...we are not doing money with speculation, we have collected [deposits]...from people who wanted to put money into...co-operative system.

A: ...it is...value-based ...bank... ...they want...to give a [chance] to...

A: ...projects that ...create new values: social value, ecological value or...

C: Sustainability...

A: Yes.

C: Ethical...

A: Yeah! ...the bank gives a lone, for instance to parents who want to build a school [or] a kindergarten ...we are now building a home for...

A: ...elderly care ...the people who have [invested]...they know all the time where their money is working. It is [an elevated] transparency ...a new kind of connection...

A: ...with savers...

⁵⁸⁹ The case describes new institutional-relational tendencies affecting value creation through various ways, including new patterns such as social banking, more relation-conscious patterns of leadership, and related changes in knowledge economy firm. Interviews with experts - a board member of a social bank, a leadership trainer in a large Finnish bank, the coordinator of the MBA students Association - serve as sources of the case presentation.

C: ...and [borrowers]”(100-20-4-5:411-437) - explains the board member of a social bank that operates in Finland.

The innovative models of value creation, similar to social banking, implement new constructs like value engineering enabling resourcing cooperative development efforts often related to local communities. The social banking capitalizes simultaneously on and combines the logic of social and economic capital accumulation. It provides enhanced transparency and the systematic communication allows offering alternative “return” as fulfilment of the depositors’ higher level needs (Maslow, 1943) by simultaneously decreasing their expectations concerning the return in financial terms. The social banking simultaneously facilitates and capitalizes on (the accumulation of) both financial and social capital and the depositors’ growing social consciousness.

“A: ...if the society ...doesn’t have the possibility to guarantee the loan [for a school] ...we help them to form...

A: ...an association from parents...or from companies who will [guarantee the loan].

A: ...the school ...must see the economy of course. ...in Finland...the state pays a certain sum for every pupil who is in school. And the state pays also the school...rent...

A: ...in Tampere they have just built a new Waldorf school, a ...wonderful building...

A: ...they have a chief economist...who...

C: ...budgeted it...

A: ...for the next twenty years ...how they are going to finance the operation.

C: ...they must have donations, public money and different sources [combined]”(100-20-4-5:447-467) - elaborates the board member on examples of project financing in social banking.

“Q: You have a dual quality control. The first issue is: can we solve the problem, and the second is whether it would give return for the bank.

A: Yeah!

C: ...you [generate] a ...local value creation configuration, where students get education and parents get their kids educated, and the community gets some services. Also the bank gets back its money with and interest over the time.

C: It’s a value creation constellation...

Q: ...it would be kind of common value engineering...

A: Value engineering is the right word...”(100-20-4-5:487-497) - sum up the board member and the expert diverse aspects of the “value engineering” playing focal role in social banking.

The social banking combines, rather replaces “traditional charity” with sophisticated financial services allowing solving the problems of local communities and social entrepreneurs, while being competitive financially. It allows and even presupposes focusing on “tailor-made” solutions for particular, “non-conventional” cases by ensuring also the bank’s profitability and competitiveness. The social banking presupposes and re-produces non-conventional professional knowledge and skills combining cooperative and creative attitudes. It enables to

co-create and combine economic and social, ecological and ethical values, generate sustainability and social wealth by deploying special tools similar to value engineering.

“Q: ...do they have the same salary as in Nordea, did you compare it?

A: ...I'm board member and I don't get any salary ...I have never asked...our contact person in Denmark ...what is his salary, but I think ...his salary is alright. It is not...charity...

C: It's a rich bank, not a huge volume bank.

A: Yeah, yeah. After two years maybe we have our own office here”(100-20-4-5:551-559) - indicates the member of the board the growth potential of the social banking in Finland.

The emergence of new investment methods are connected with enhanced social consciousness and improving (quality of) human relations that are present and effective also in other contexts. I.e. the social banking is signalling about and is connected with broader relational changes present in and characteristic also for other fields.

“A: ...there are more and more people who want to [participate in and facilitate]...value engineering. ...they are looking for...possibilities, where these processes are healthy. ...it is a growing...interest for [similar] activities. ...for instance younger generation here in Finland ...are [also] looking for new possibilities.

Q: And ...do you feel that these new relationships are present besides social banking also in other fields ...?

A: Yeah, all around...

C: Within Nokia even.

A: Within Nokia even, yes!

Q: So you say that an improved human approach allows being more sensitive to problems and try to solve them without a special personal benefit... Just help to make a better world, this is the benefit. Is it your understanding?...

A: Yeah!...

C: Perhaps it's about the relationships ...people want...those type of relationships which have that quality”(100-20-4-5:563-582) - sum up their experience about relational changes the expert and the board member of the bank.

The relationships facilitating to enhance the employees', rather co-workers' intrinsic motivation and creativity has a growing - in a sense even key - importance for the efficiency of knowledge economy firms. The interplay among the cooperative and more attentive relationships and the horizontalization tendencies has growing importance for enabling passionate and sharing co-creation as altered pattern of work and value creation:

“A: ...the main question is the relationships' ...quality ...I'm working in a ...large financial company in Finland as a [leadership] trainer...

A: ...Shared responsibility is one of the values. And the business is [going] ...very well. ...young people are interested in this bank. I just looked the...

A: ...business barometer and [this bank] was the first [among banks] that interested our students in economical...universities...

...Q: How does it appear, in which sense relationships are changing?

C: Everywhere.

A: ...yes, when they meet the client...is different. But also...[training of] the leaders ...during last years ...it is [focusing on] respect... and equality...

Q: In which sense is it important for a financial institution to be egalitarian?

A: In all those...processes, where you create something new. ...young people...can realize that ...authoritarian hierarchy ...is [lacking].

...A: ...there is not ...old-fashioned authority anymore ...something we are looking now.

Q: ...Does it affect how they...serve their clients? Or it's mostly internal relations...between different employees of the bank? Where do you feel mostly the changes in relationships?

A: Also with clients ...because it cannot be only either or, it's both and all the time. ...in leadership training the...leading idea is ...we call it pedagogical leadership. ...you understand ...what are...young people looking for...in their [various] life-situations. ...what [are typical issues in] the phase between thirty and forty, between forty and fifty and so on ...

A: ...when young people...experience ...there is space for me and they understand me, and they help me to find my own development and my way ...It's...perhaps one kind of happiness, and I'm balanced with my life situation. ...they understand also that I have small children and they need my time...

A: ...Of course [also in this bank] we have [both] hierarchy [and] horizontal [trends] ...how you balance them...that is the question. And when you do it successfully...[you may] create something ...new in relations..."(100-20-4-5:583-656) - explains the significance and positive impacts of respectful and more egalitarian relationships on workplaces the leadership trainer.

These relational changes in firms of the knowledge economy seem to be longer term tendencies. They may be at the same time both parts and drivers of the emergence of broader, frequently association-prone transformations.

"A: When I started ...in 1987...Nokia was that kind of organization. They gave me the freedom to do what I wanted to do. And I made a lot of things for the company, and my co-workers did also, because that was the way how Nokia looked at least in the 1980's, and that's why it made such a success...

Q: So that was important driver of the Nokia's success. They have created already in the '80's such cooperative and creative atmosphere for people working there.

A: Yes. And I have talked ...with a lot of people who have worked for Nokia in the 1980's ...they all say that it was a wonderful ...place to work. ...of course they didn't want to keep everybody ...there were [also] people who didn't want to be in that kind of company...

Q: Yes, but a community is always open, you can go out or the community wants you to leave because you are not really fitting...

A: Yes! ...there was this freedom. And people were courageous to innovate...

Q: Could it work for long time?

A: Maybe not for too long time ...maybe you will have to change people in some phases...

Q: So you think people are tired of doing the same thing...

A: ...in knowledge society it's also important that ...people ...change and go to new places... ...it invites...new ideas ...that's very important ...we have done like this for twenty years.

Q: Do you think that to be innovative by working in the same place for twenty years is very difficult?

A: Yes, it's...more difficult. But...you can...in one organization...change ...positions, to look [things] from different points of views... ...what they did in Nokia ...they sent people to new positions ...also I have worked for [the firm] which is now Fortun. ...they had new organizations quite often. ...that's the way how big companies...do it ...They saw that it's not

good that people stay at their places for too long time ...in Nokia we used to say that we have a new organization every month, but it was good...”(100-20-6-5:602-632) - sums up the expert based on her personal experience the tendencies from the 80’s that could contribute to turn Nokia into successful “knowledge economy firm”.

The (former) MBA students’ expected soft values and management style to become more characteristic in business life since ‘better treatment’ of co-workers is necessary and favourable for improved value creation and growing efficiency in knowledge firms:

“A: ...[the members of the Association] thought that there will be more soft values in business life ...when we look at 2012... That’s one of the biggest changes...

Q: So softer means that less efficiency orientated?

A: ...of course we have to be efficiency oriented - [also] because people are retiring... - but if you want people be efficient, you have to treat them better. ...that’s what...our members ...are saying”(100-20-6-5:145-151) - points out the coordinator at the expectations of economic practitioners based on the survey among members of MBA students’ Association.

The jobs increasingly connected with knowledge work may combine social and economic value creation on new way by capitalizing on and catalysing intrinsic motivation to co-create⁵⁹⁰. These changes may interplay with growing presence and significance of networks and communities also inside the companies - as the next section indicates.

20/ Intra-company community enhancement - Wikinomics⁵⁹¹

To be competitive every company must be “lean, quick and efficient” (100-20-7-5:129) in all areas what creates growing pressures for various types of innovation. However, the firms seem increasingly lacking internal reserves to handle “unplanned” innovations since the growingly parsimonious and precise resourcing mechanisms generate lean structures and inflexible internal silos.

“A: ...in this knowledge era will be used all our competitive advantage ...like cost, efficiency, and lean, and process... ...everything is coming the same, everybody...have been used the same ways of beating the competitor. So we are nowadays ...lean ...quick

⁵⁹⁰ In similar constellation the “...profit is a result of the firm’s pursuit of excellence and ideals not a purpose. What these firms pursue ultimately is the happiness of the community and themselves. This causes them to continuously question their *raison d’être* and seek their own absolute value in the context of their relationships in the community and society. They have built unique communities of individuals driven by their own beliefs, shared dreams, and a vision relentlessly pursued to create unique value leading to happiness in the community and then profit [italics in original]” - emphasize Nonaka et al., (2008:243) the profound shifts in value and wealth perception and creation feed backing with horizontalization and by networks-driven changes in the logic of commodifying capital accumulation (Sewell, 1992).

⁵⁹¹ The case describes the growing role of internal networks and communities in enhancing company competitiveness. Interviews - with a key manager and with an expert of strategic department of a global company, with researchers of the Oulu University, and with the coordinator of the Association of MBA students - serve as sources of the case presentation.

...efficient ...and ...what is between you...is innovativeness. One has now to remember - and this is not yet a strong approach [in our company] - that it is about all type of innovation. It is not about product innovation only, it is not about services innovations, we have ways of working innovation, we have process innovations, and we have business model innovations... ...we have to nurture incremental innovations, which could be ...product improvements; radical innovations, which would be something that in our domain would change radically or give us advantage; and then also disruptive innovations ...[that] by definition do not take place more than once in three-four years”(100-20-7-5:126-146) - summarizes the significance of facilitating and combining multiple types of innovations in (global) companies the crowdsourcing expert.

“A: ...But the fact is that this company works like a “Swiss clock”, and a new idea, or invention, let alone innovation ...but we define...that innovation is already in the hands of consumer. ...So in this “Swiss clock type of working modality” a new idea is nuisance; it is a disturbance to the system that works”(100-20-7-5:64-67) - indicates the controversial perceptions and effects of innovation in firms a global company’s crowdsourcing expert.

To bypass the lack of (hidden) ‘slacks’ that previously enabled to provide resourcing for “unplanned” innovation(s) the companies should increase their agility and re-create due level of the resource fluidity (Doz and Kosonen, 2008). To process and implement ideas, which the firms’ external networks and open innovation communities generate abundantly, requires additional resources. To “digest” rapidly growing volumes of information and innovations that external partners generate the firms have to create both capability and capacity to select and handle the “bright ones” - to elaborate sound business plans and to resource their implementation. I.e. it makes necessary to combine the additional requirements with the ongoing, carefully planned efforts and limited resources.

“A: ...[our corporate people] say that their pipelines are full. Ok when we get the ideas what we usually do ...most of them are bad or mediocre. There are seldom good...extremely good or excellent. So you need to...combine them. And that only happens with human brains ...that is not yet...I don’t have the algorithm...”(100-20-7-5:1215-129) - describes difficulties of handling external innovative ideas inside the lean and “Swiss clock”-type world of a global company the expert promoting open innovation efforts.

“A: ...So we say that you have ...your ideas and [you have] to combine your ideas otherwise you don’t get... qualified finance. ...it’s pretty good carrot. But then we got their ideas ...and [it]...should be like business as usual, the usual road maps as they usually [are] doing it. ...[when] our people are saying that: Yes, but our pipelines are full! ...I would love to challenge them: OK! ...if the idea has been so good and you don’t accept it I give it to the ecosystem. ...what is good for the ecosystem is good for [the company too]”(100-20-7-5:1225-1231) - indicates the corporate expert the difficulties to resource crowd-sourcing related proposals.

These challenges often are connected with a search in firms for “Internet-like”, flexible solutions and attempts to work in community mode also internally. Since the enhanced creativity of the internal communities and their volunteering members may serve as and provide access to (additional) soft and multipliable resources the companies frequently have to capitalise on communities internally in order to mobilize additional resources. I.e. the firms have to realise, that the success of the open innovation brings about changes enabling and enhancing creative knowledge work also in the companies - often in interplay with ‘horizontal emergence’ of communities and their networks bringing about significant organizational alterations.

“A: We want to change [our] way of working internally. That we could really work through ...different modalities different from...factory modality or line mode ...work in programs or projects. ...We have noticed...cases when the internal community could reach the goal quicker, and utilizing less resource than traditional product program development did... So it is [worth] learning how to behave on this real community way... ..these are...messages that we have to deliver very soon to our senior leaders ...it is also us learning how to behave on this real community way. ...how much more in the context of idea generation and development we could get when internally we would work Internet-like”(100-20-7-5:289-300) - points out the crowdsourcing expert at potential advantages to promote internally Internet-like, network, ad community patterns in a global company.

“A: ...How do we work in communities? ...we have internal evidence, and external evidence, soon an academic evidence, that it is now less in positions... This “fragile wing” what makes us knowledge workers more or less innovative, it is about - the passion. ...one of our key values is passion for innovation. ...All these Maslow pyramid of needs must be at place, the energizing factors...have to be in place. ...You have to be comfortable, you have to have enough money, a big enough salary so you do not need to worry...On the other hand you have to be treated fairly, you have to have autonomy, you have to have a sense of chaos or perhaps an understanding of complexity, and you have to have fun! It is terrible, terrible to say but - YOU HAVE TO HAVE FUN!!”(100-20-7-5:363-373) - emphasizes the importance of the motivation and passion for efficient knowledge work the corporate crowd-sourcing expert.

These tendencies indicate that the open innovation can successfully enhance company competitiveness only through and in interplay with significant internal changes enabling creative knowledge work. However, that may often require fundamental transformations affecting even power structures:

“Q: ...What do you mean by saying the open innovation is shifting the focus of power?

B: Well I mean that in both sense ...knowhow about current business model that organization is operating and of course the financial incentives to make the innovation happen. That means totally different...shareholder politics....IPR management politics, but totally different ...conception of who is really responsible for the companies’ strategy.

Q: Open innovation requires full reshuffling of the whole of company work?

B: Yes, it's always behind this open innovation movement ...it may...work [if]...you make the whole company...[follow] the open innovation model. This not a transformation but you have to select certain units of the organization and solve real problems...

Q: Is it possible to change traffic rules only in certain parts of the system? Without systemic transformation doesn't it lead to permanent collisions?

A: Very good analogies - quality. Total quality movement..."(100-20-17-5:612-630) - emphasize researchers from the Oulu University the importance of deep transformations in companies reshaping even patterns of power in order to enable capitalize on potential effectiveness and efficiency gains which the open innovation offers.

"Q: Does it mean that the managers understood that instead of control and pressure they can enable people, facilitate their self-motivation and creativity that generate efficiency...?"

A: Yes! And it's not a new phenomenon... because for example ...[in] the 1990's ...we had that kind of working place... I gave people a lot of freedom ...they talked to each other, and exchanged opinions, and we did very [good] results with [few] people. But that was because of this openness and freedom ...people were self-motivated ...I have lived in that kind of organization, and it was wonderful. And we still love each other, we still meet, because...it wasn't a company for us, it was a way of living.

Q: It was a community...

A: Yes, it was a community, and it's still a community.

A: ...the company did quite well, because we were so enthusiastic ...we did our work very well ...we had good human relations and we didn't have hierarchy.

A: ...that's happening more and more and that's why our members say that it will [become commonplace] in five years"(100-20-6-5:193-216) - describes the coordinator her personal experience supporting conclusions of the survey among members of the association of the MBA students indicating the growing importance of soft, enabling leadership and management in the knowledge firms.

The feed backing changes connected with the emergence of knowledge economy simultaneously may aggregate into broader socio-economic transformations constitutive of a knowledge society - as the following part describes.

21/ Transformations toward knowledge economy - collective self-empowerment⁵⁹²

Upon the economic experts' consensual opinion the interplaying alterations unfolding in various sectors of the Finnish economy may become mutually catalytic and amplifying and their cumulative, transformational effects could appear after 2015. I.e. their interplay may co-create the infrastructure of (a more advanced phase of the) Finnish knowledge economy and society.

⁵⁹² The case reviews transformational processes and trends aggregating into emergence of the knowledge economy in Finland. The interview with an expert - the former governmental coordinator of the Finnish information society strategy, and coordinator of the national Association of MBA students, which prepared a survey with their members about change processes related to emergence of knowledge economy - served as source of the case presentation.

“Q: So now you have some research about 2010. What is your impression would it be some basic change? Or it affects just companies without changing the whole Finland - yet. What is more realistic? Can it be really a ...dramatic change in the life of Finland until 2010?

A: 2010 is too close, but if we talk about 2012 or 2015, there will be a bigger change - [as] people see it today. It must be because basic infrastructure is changing and people are changing...

Q: Is it a physical infrastructure or is it a broadband, or is it the organizational infrastructure?

A: I think that...all these...are changing at the same time ...people even don't always see it, but the change is faster than they actually understand”(100-20-6-5:661-672) - indicates the former coordinator of the Finnish information society strategy.

Finland in the 2000s became in multiple aspects a forerunner⁵⁹³ (and a kind of ‘poster child’) also for European information and knowledge society efforts⁵⁹⁴. The official “rollout” of the European Network of Living Laboratories during the Finnish EU presidency in 2006 in that sense was also a symbolic act. Finland’s accession to the EU in 1995 took place in a period of “creative destruction” or “shock therapy” unfolding during the last decade of the XX Century. It brought about “resource fluidity” (Doz and Kosonen, 2008) also at macro-level by enabling an overarching focus shift generating an innovation - and education - driven trajectory of (socio-) economic developments in context of the robust globalization tendencies.

The strengthening interplay among an effective and complex innovation ecosystem capitalizing on highly successful (system of) education and the enabling services of the dynamic welfare state generated Finland’s spectacular economic growth and dynamic socio-economic modernization. The ascending wave of the era of mobile devices enabled the global success of Nokia and its rapidly broadening ecosystem, which simultaneously served as robust driver of the Finnish information and knowledge society developments.

Since the information-communication technologies enabled to extend the radius of action to quasi-global reach the knowledge society in Finland was often perceived as a network(ed) society. It interplayed with shifts in individual self-perception allowing seeing oneself as part of increasingly international, global communities. Interplaying tendencies - such as technological change, networking, globalization, free market and trade - enabled people to do choices. These feed backing trends brought about organizational (level) changes and facilitated the civil society’s (potential) self-empowerment. I.e. one could observe

⁵⁹³ The knowledge and education played very pragmatic and also symbolic significance and relevance for both the national independence and the country’s independent development. In that sense Finland was a genuine “archetype “of a knowledge society.

⁵⁹⁴ It was not by coincidence that Erkki Liikannen as responsible commissioner promoted the Lisbon Agenda, which the president of the EU officially “launched” together with him in 2000.

transformative dynamics in many aspects including changes in corporate behaviour, in public sector approach, and - due to the growing self-organizing capacity of people - also in local civil societies. The increasing participation in the global networks offered chances for local empowerment also in broader sense, although the civil society frequently was seen and presented as 'capable only protesting'⁵⁹⁵. However, since (the quality of) the relations and knowledge became of crucial importance the civil society with increasing effectiveness could generate and amplify changes in the trends and processes characterizing daily life.

“A: ...At least at organizational level there is a big change ...in your own organization, in your networks, and in your approaches ...But...it [also brings about] changes at the civil society level. ...you can feel that you are ...part of the community, and that is international. Before it was a village or a town, but now you're [going to] have a community that has members all around the world. For example my Facebook community ...from Turkey someone [whom] I have never known before [because] we had common friend...simply became my Facebook friend... ..I think [changes]...happened more at...organizational level first, but now ...[they affect] the whole civil society”(100-20-6-5:41-49) - points out at the alterations that empower the civil society the former coordinator of the Finnish information society program.

“Q: ...Is the civil society only the third or tertiary?

A: I don't think so! That's what politicians and businessmen say. ...the same when we talk about...innovation ...user-driven innovation. It's changing and it puts the individual first, and then comes the public sector and then comes the business. They cannot do anything until they don't have these resources ...people across the public sector decided that they will [behave] as people...and this is also a part of the changes in the knowledge society”(100-20-6-5:53-60) - argues for the growing role of the civil society in context of the emerging knowledge society the expert and former coordinator of the Finnish information society program.

The access to better education and new, enabling technologies creating progressing connectedness, the improved capacity of collaboration offered potential and ways to act, facilitated enhanced social consciousness, enabled and created the (self-) empowerment of the civil society. The improving access to information enabling to understand broader processes, the strengthening publicity and the capability and capacity to make choices and create influence, make a difference were important drivers and components of the perceived empowerment. The improving connectivity feedback with enhanced autonomy to communicate and interact, to participate in broadening self-communication (Castells, 2009) by enacting communication power and carrying out communicative interactions (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995).

⁵⁹⁵ For example in areas confronting with deindustrialization people frequently launched self-organizing actions.

“A: ...[the market and public sectors] have to do that, it’s not easy for them, but they have to change, because people have more power.

Q: What does it mean? They are more empowered...?

A: Yes!...

Q: Does it mean that they can say through the internet that we don’t like what you do?

A: Yes! ...they get...publicity... [Previously]...they could go to a market place and talk about it, but nobody listened. But now...they have the global networks... And that’s the change”(100-20-6-5:346-354) - indicates the empowering impacts of improved connectedness the former governmental coordinator of the information society strategy.

“Q: ...Does it mean that they have started to act more consciously from social point of view? Before I had my own small personal life... and there were the politicians, they were talking about society, there were the owners and managers, they were talking about economy, but I was interested in what I can do at home, how I can live my daily personal life...

A: Yes, because you are better educated, you get more information, you have free access to the information, and I still think that most of the people aren’t stupid.

Q: ...were they stupid ten years ago?

A: No, no ... they were not stupid, but the politicians thought that they are stupid.

Q: And they were treated like that...

A: Yes.

Q: And in a way it was silently accepted.

A: Yes! Actually today in Helsinki Sanomat ...was an article ...about ...light activism ...that people can make choices in their everyday life. And it’s happening more and more. ...I have always lived like that, but I think this is getting more ...[ordinary] that people can really make choices when they don’t want to buy some products, or they don’t want to have car ...because they want to change the world. And now...I think also the climate change is one big question ...people ...started to think [whether] will...be a future for our children?

A: ...and that is also ...part of this [trend] ...we have internet, we have globalization, we have climate change ...free market or free tread [these] lead to the same direction. People are talking and thinking more and more about future, because they think about their children”(100-20-3-6:407-436) - describes the empowering interplay of the change tendencies constitutive of the emergence of knowledge society the former coordinator of the information society strategy.

The public sector made growing attempts to mobilize the Finnish civil society in order to catalyse changes, to improve quality of services For example citizens got the right to choose among hospitals, while the new technologies enabled to provide information about the results of their work. I.e. the increased transparency and the legal changes provided the freedom of choice for the users of health services. Other initiatives, similar to the Living Laboratories, aimed to enable⁵⁹⁶ and catalyse mass participation in open innovation⁵⁹⁷, generate new social

⁵⁹⁶ The enabling approach has long traditions in the Finnish public sector.

⁵⁹⁷ The “Healthy Helsinki” project in frame of the Helsinki Living Laboratory aimed to mobilize the residents to life style changes by enabling prevention instead of to cure healthcare problems.

structures⁵⁹⁸ constitutive of and facilitating the emergence of knowledge economy and society⁵⁹⁹. The transformations in the public sector were urged and promoted more forcefully also by the market sector.

“A: ...for example the city of Helsinki, which is now a part of Forum Virium, which is now a part of Living Labs ...are creating new services for ...community members. ...they really ask them what they want to use ...it's not like the old way, just to give people something to have money from that”(100-20-6-5:65-68) - points out the former coordinator of the national information society strategy.

“A: ...At the moment [the reform of the local authorities] ...is more reorganization than restyling ...now we have started to talk...about that we should do also, not only good companies [and] municipalities ...but change the structures of services...”

Q: If the public service won't change, can the economy be efficient?

A: No. They have to change also.

Q: So it's a kind of pressure from the economy to this change?

A: Yes!

Q: And do you have forums, where the economy can really push for that, or is it a kind of dialogue between the business life and the public life?

A: ...it's more talking at the moment ...there are some forums, but I'm not sure that they are getting very much results... I hope that it will change.

A: ...this is more a public discussion at the moment ...in media and ...

Q: And in informal forums like Facebook, is this among the frequent topics?

A: Yes, it's also there. At least my friends are...discussing it...”(100-20-6-5:640-660) - describes transformational feedbacks among the market and public sector and the civil society players the coordinator of the Association of the MBA students.

The various community and social networks, the growingly cooperative character of their communicative interactions interplayed with - shaped and were shaped by - the institutional changes that in generational context were particularly well visible. These alterations were important catalysts and constituents of multidimensional changes aggregating into the emergence of the knowledge economy and society.

“A: ...I think that it's not only in Finland... this younger generation will make the change ...because they want...change ...they see the world differently.

Q: What is the difference ...?

A: They are individuals. More individuals ...and they respect more spare time and their friends... they want to have more time for their personal life. That's the big change for example in Finland ...[earlier] you were a good citizen, a good person if you worked very

⁵⁹⁸ These efforts aim to mobilize robust public sector capacities partly by establishing new types of organizations and institutions similar to Forum Virium and Living Laboratories. The new innovation university serves to promote the new approach in research and education.

⁵⁹⁹ These new organizational and social structures interplay with changes in relational dynamism by facilitating closer partnerships and emergence of a new - institutional-relational type - third infrastructure. The “...change is that the organizations listen less own-self and will do more and more with their partners and business partners”(100-20-6-5:124-125).

hard, but nowadays you don't have to do that anymore. It's not ...[the main measurement] ...how much you work... and that is also a change ...many services in Finland...did the same thing all the time...

Q: So it's a structural change in the civil society...in the Finnish society and the Finnish economy which are connected...

A: Yes! ...also they are richer than their parents.

A: ...It gives you more choices.

Q: ...since you are richer as a country can you be freer?

A: Yes, and also this freedom of choice ...you can work in Finland, but you can go to Switzerland, seeing the winter [in a] ski centre ...you don't have to stay in Finland. You have the whole world ...every young people can speak English in Finland ...they can go where they want to go. And they are not afraid to go.

Q: Because Finland became richer and more developed, people started to be more conscious and more interested in their personal happiness?

A: Yes!

Q: Is this a happiness economy...?

A: Yes, it is...

Q: ...Is it really an option and is it really a topic for Finnish people to think about or to act about more than it was ten years ago?

A: Yes, it is!

Q: So you don't think that the younger generation because they are well-off, they are not interested in work. They just want to have another balance, and other targets ...

A: Yes, therefore you have to be efficient ...to keep the days short ...create new ways of working and using technology ...don't have to do routine at work ...and you don't have to do ...long working days. ...that's why you also [have to have efficiency]...

...A: ...we have a lot of...new press surveys about it ...It's happening a lot in this area"(10020-3-6:4-533) - sums up the coordinator of the national association the MBA students' expectations concerning feed backing transformations constitutive of the emerging knowledge economy and society.

In context of changes in perception of knowledge and creativity, the capability to communicate and cooperate is increasingly valued and respected and these are perceived as crucial sources of value creation. The technology is seen as a tool offering improved potential for enhancing productivity, increasing free time, and improving connectivity, i.e. as catalyst of changes that contribute to improved life quality. The communities - and their networks - catalyse institutional changes that may affect and (re-) shape everyday life. The readiness to participate in diverse self-organizing activities catalyses also belonging, consciousness, awareness, and empowerment and facilitates improved life quality. These tendencies simultaneously also strengthen - the organizations of - the civil society and enhance their activities. The individuals feel important to make choices by following their own personality. As employees they see openness, freedom, and motivated, meaningful and creative activity as a way of life. The capacity of self-communication transforms consciousness by creating the

awareness of belonging to large communities of like-minded people - what creates also empowerment.

“Q: It means that you notice at your friends the emergence of enhanced social consciousness...

A: Yes! ...you can see it on the Facebook ...I have been really surprised that my middle aged friends...most of them are men ...nowadays really concerned about things I think they weren't before. So...Facebook has made me much more optimistic, because I see that people are actually interested in these...questions ...maybe...[beforehand] you were afraid to talk or discuss these kinds of things ...

Q: You felt to be alone...

A: Yes, yes. But now they see that: I'm not the only one who's thinking like this. ...even that director ...or that professor is thinking so, and... I can also think like that. And say it. So that's also a kind of empowerment. ...people...come to the internet and say that this not right.

Q: So you think that the web 2.0 phenomenon is really efficient?

A: Yes! I think so ...that's also what I have told in the press...

Q: Are the web 2.0 type entities real communities? They are strong enough, and offer the freedom of...speaking and thinking together ...Do you...feel that this is an efficient tool even compared to the press...

A: Yes! But of course not everybody is there...

Q: The number is increasing...

A: Yes! ...for me it's also a little bit surprising that ...these middle aged people ...actually are ...active and ready to say that this is not right ...cannot go on like this. So people...I would have never talked [about similar issues] would say that...

Q: Is it because you feel that you are in a community ...you are not alone?

A: Yes! And when you see that others also say so ...you are not afraid to say it anymore. Because [previously] I thought that I will be 'labelled' that no one...will hire me ...if I say that this is important [being] concerned for the environment ...you couldn't say that, but now you can say it"(100-20-6-5:438-465) - describes the institutional changes that self-communication may generate former coordinator of the Finnish knowledge society program.

The social networks and communities attract people because they offer frames - or rather catalytic platforms - for co-creation and self-activation and strengthen collaborative dynamics also in their broader environment. They facilitate innovations mainly in social, socio-economic - rather than in technological - context. The communities amplify their members' cooperation and creativity, help to capitalize on flow experience. They catalyse the perception of feeling good by acting together. The experience of flow - or the happiness of co-creation and cooperation - simultaneously may affect the participating individuals and their relationships, and also generate interlinked personality and relational changes. The self-communication and the cooperative interactions in social networks and communities bring about the tendency to be(come) more open toward broader, social tendencies. I.e. they contribute to the emergence of enhanced social consciousness and cooperation what in turn may facilitate to create social, socio-economic innovations, generate more human-centric, more caring, and ultimately also more knowledge-driven tendencies.

The spread of networks in economy and society is the most visible aspect of horizontalization tendencies⁶⁰⁰, which feedback also with growingly cooperative relational dynamism, self-organizing⁶⁰¹, increasing importance of knowledge and creativity. The more cooperative relational dynamism and the emergence of a community consciousness may bring about changes in the quality of relations and interactions by simultaneously facilitating enhanced efficiency of work and (local) overcome of estrangement tendencies. In knowledge firms the efficiency has to be generated by creativity and innovativeness what may interplay with self-engagement and self-organizing. The increasingly cooperative character of the relational dynamism affects, strengthens, and simultaneously capitalizes on the growingly enabling leadership and management style.

“Q: Do you think that networking means more cooperation?

A: Yes! ...And it also has very nice influence on how you lead ...on management. ...there will be...changes...in that area ...and it’s happening quite fast in the Finnish organizations.

...A: You don’t have hierarchy anymore, so if you want...to lead or manage people, you have to have charisma, and you have to understand how people work and understand [that] they are individuals...not...ants...working on a line ...take care of people in a different way than you have done, that’s one of the biggest change [upon the expectations of] our members...”(100-20-6-5:133-143) - summarizes the management related findings of the survey among members of MBA students’ Association its coordinator.

The knowledge work - and service - industry were present primarily in bigger cities of Finland while smaller locations remained more the domains of traditional, industrial area firms, capacities - and attitudes⁶⁰². Since the knowledge and service economy required knowledgeable, creative, flexible, and intrinsically motivated co-workers there was an - at least relative - shortage of employees what was more visible in the bigger cities⁶⁰³. Since the firms saw as of crucial importance to enable creativity and innovativeness⁶⁰⁴, they were going to perceive increasingly as co-workers their employees. Many Finnish companies recognized that the work can be creative and efficient if the management aims rather to enable, motivate, and engage workers instead of control, push, restrict, or punish them. Factors like aging work force, legal requirements, and marketing related tendencies could catalyse similar changes

⁶⁰⁰ However, the changes follow various, often contradictory trends by bringing about also “power networks” (Vitányi, 2007) functioning as “horizontal hierarchies”.

⁶⁰¹ Further technological and infrastructural changes were also indispensable: “A: ...it will be quite a lot ...technological change indeed... still ...a lot to do... for example to [enable] data changes between hospitals ...will take several years”(100-20-6-5:116-118) - indicates the information society strategy’s former coordinator.

⁶⁰² The Finnish knowledge economy, its emergence also seems to follow the law of unequal development.

⁶⁰³ The medium and even small entities of the market sector have to act growingly on global markets.

⁶⁰⁴ Actually the aging of both the population and the workforce brings about changes, more soft methods also in traditional, industrial firms and economy - as the 2008 survey of the Association of MBA students indicates.

also in smaller towns and locations where the industrial society context, relational dynamism, and attitudes were strong(er).

“A: ...the need [of change] is everywhere, but ...the traditional sectors are changing slower... also ...the public sector is now talking more and more about...that they cannot [continue]... they need new...directors, and managers(100-20-6-5:293-295).

“A: ... because nobody’s buying if you won’t do that.... and then your shareholders...

Q: ...as a civil person you say: I’m not going to buy your thing...

A: ...also the shareholders ...see that, if you do these kinds of things, nobody will buy abroad ...that’s not good for our business, so...

Q: So I should give up a little bit...

“A: ...of course it’s always case-based, what you can do, but it’s happening all the time”(100-20-6-5:382-394).

“Q: Have the old work places started to change?

A: They have also started to change...because ...people are getting older and older and [although] it’s not knowledge society development, it is the [typical course of the] development of the Western society that we are [approaching]... ...you have to treat people in different way and they will stay at working life ...I think that in old organizations [these changes are] more about ...aging...”(100-20-6-5:169-174) - describes the diverse factors facilitating relational changes and more cooperative dynamics in various economic segments the coordinator of the MBA students’ Association.

Seemingly the emergence of the knowledge economy and society were and remain indivisible trends and transformations. Although the technology is a key driver, the emergence of the knowledge society is more complex than series of technological changes - it is increasingly about altering, improving human relationships. These are connected with growing importance to participate in and belong to different communities. The increasingly cooperative relations, the growing activity of - often networked - communities interplay with and facilitate creativity in multiple ways. The everyday life reflects these changes more forcefully upon her personal experiences - argues the expert and former coordinator of the Finnish information society program.

The efficiency of the knowledge firms presupposes - and catalyses - significant changes in the relational dynamism among co-workers and managers. Moreover, new technologies can be effective when relational changes - and simultaneously the work processes - take place by following altered patterns. The interplay between changes in relational and work processes enable and catalyse the effective and efficient implementation, i.e. enactment (Orlikowski, 2000) of the (new) technologies⁶⁰⁵. The growingly cooperative and caring relationships may

⁶⁰⁵ The technology development is a crucial driver of the emergence of the knowledge economy (and society). Although the broadband “coverage” in 2008 was above 96 % in Finland significant further infrastructural and

emerge and occasional groups of employees may transform into community of self-motivated, highly engaged, innovative and creative co-workers. The ‘community emergence’ may simultaneously capitalize on and generate flow experience in both individual and collective context. Such “happiness of co-creation” simultaneously (may) generate intrinsic motivation, creativity by simultaneously enhancing the efficiency of the knowledge firm⁶⁰⁶.

“A: ...it’s not a new phenomenon ...for example ...in the 1990’s ...we had that kind of working place... I gave people a lot of freedom...they talked to each other ...and we did ...accented results with few people. ...that was because of this openness and freedom ...people were...motivated ...I have lived in that kind of organization...it was wonderful... we still love each other...still meet...it wasn’t a company for us, it was a way of living.

A: ...it was a community, and it’s still a community.

Q: And that was a good community, you had very special, good human relations. ...And in the meantime it was also a work. ...But it was...a community.

A:Yes ...we were so enthusiastic, so we did our work very well ...we had good...relations and we didn’t have hierarchy”(100-20-6-5:195-212) - describes the favourable impacts on efficiency the community enhanced relationships based upon her personal experience the coordinator of the association of MBA students.

The self-organizing may become crucial source and catalyst of engaged, highly effective and efficient knowledge work the cooperative relational dynamism may serve as important driver of the emergence of the knowledge economy. The strengthening cooperative relational dynamism may interplay with broader social transformations. These societal alterations can be essential and indispensable enablers and constituents of the accumulation and transformational outcomes of the changes constituting the emergence of knowledge economy.

Although the communities are mostly seen as civil society organizations six from the 21 case-communities belong to the “*sharing transformations*” cluster since they act in or in cooperation with market sector players. The growing importance for company competitiveness of getting access to external resources through open innovation turns the communities of volunteers into important external partners and raises their significance for firms also internally. The open source pattern proves to be useful and viable in growing number of fields other than software creation. The companies, but also regions and local players see Living Laboratories as important catalysts of open innovation and useful tools for

technology-related investments are required to approach “full coverage” and ensure data security due to accelerating emergence of the Internet of Things.

⁶⁰⁶ The profitability of the knowledge firm is the consequence of the new quality of the creative work rather than its sole aim - as Nonaka et al. (2008) point out.

establishing or upgrading innovation ecosystems. The changing perception and practice of generating value and wealth capitalizes on re-coupling social and economic value (Nicholls, 2006), and on more cooperative relations with employees - rather co-workers - primarily in the knowledge firms. Upon the expectations of the economic experts the emergence of Finnish knowledge economy (and society) may accelerate after 2015 due to the aggregation of multiple, often mutually catalytic change processes unfolding in (socio-)economic context.

II. Overview of changes in perceptions of civil society – Table 13

	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Western Antiquity	polis as frame	economy as slave work	community of free persons	“good society” is identical with the state aiming to ensure order and peace	the “civility” is related to the requirement of good citizenship - the state represents the civil form of society, the “genesis of civil society in its original sense” (Edwards, 2004:6)	the inherent rationality enables to shape the character of society; capability of volunteering for common cause
Socrates	political association governing social conflict through imposition of rules		used as synonym of good society, seen as indistinguishable from the state	resolves conflicts through public argument, ensures good life for people and “civility” in the polis	capitalizes on dialectic to uncover truth	
Plato	the philosopher king looks after people in civility	the occupational roles fulfil the ones who are best suited	the just society as ideal state	people dedicate themselves to common good	practices and civil virtues of wisdom, courage, moderation, justice;	
Aristotle	polis as the “association of associations” - political community “koinonía politiké”				their association enables citizens to share the virtuous tasks of ruling and being ruled	
Cicero					coins the term ‘societas civilis’	

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Middle Ages	-nobility as the “political corps”	economy based on serfdom		Christian community (of Europe)	the classical notion of “civil society” is missing	
Renaissance	tackle problems of the “just war”				respect of the creative individual	
Treaty of Westphalia	era of sovereign states’ system - monarchic supreme control through army, bureaucracy, fiscal systems	control and taxes from the monarch	territorially based political units with sovereignty			
Enlightenment	ensure positive law through the state		enable to prevail the will of the people	society of social contract - destroy legitimating alliance of the monarch and Church		inherent goodness of human mind
Hobbes	Leviathan, the state of the common power; powerful state to maintain civility in society		sovereignty of common power based on rational agreement, rights derived from natural laws		state and civil society are co-existing, not as separate realms;	rationality, shapes one’s destiny - motivation by self-interest

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Locke	dual agreement - state power serves to enact and maintain law; ensure basic human rights - sovereignty of the common power		social contract that limits state, ensures powerful society; preservation of life, liberty, and property	common public authority – restrict autocracy; common power based on rational agreement	civil society as community maintaining civil life, the realm of civic virtues, rights derived from natural laws	rationality shape one's own destiny; human beings can design their political order
Kant					civil society as balance against tyranny of single interest or of majority	
Rousseau (1754)	city-state – modern “polis”: Geneva as a good, republic; stability of its laws and institutions, the community spirit, government to amend self-governance; good relations with the neighbouring states, the ‘ideal regime’	civil society - is a trick perpetrated by the powerful on the weak in order to maintain their power or wealth	critic of civil society: moral inequality is endemic - relates to, and causes differences in power and wealth; “Discourse of Inequality”(1754)	cynicism of the civil society is caused by: 1) competition, (2) self-comparison with others, (3) hatred, and (4) urge for power	individuals may ennoble themselves by joining into civil society and using reason: through the social contract and by abandoning claims of natural right, they can preserve themselves and remain free; by becoming collective authors of the law, through submission to the authority of the general will of the people as a whole - in order to guarantee oneself against being subordinated to the will of others	perfectibility of people - seen as a "savage" man, i.e. a loner and self-sufficient

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Adam Smith (1759, 1776)	active civil virtue as the “visible hand” driving markets	free world of commerce; freedom and security of individuals enable the most productive use of resources	free association of members of the Third Estate forming citizenry; improving standard of material comfort; <i>democratic, self-governing common</i> or association of free individuals	civil society as a socio-economic system to create “secure tranquility” by implementing the “liberal plan” a progress toward the limits; free enterprise as domain of personal autonomy and reflection	a moral idea was essential for the civil society; civil virtue and prudence to balance the mercantile interests of the “selfish bourgeois” aiming to control government policy	mutual sympathy; individual freedom, equity, moral accountability and progress; inner social dialogue of the individuals;
Hegel	market society opposing the nation state	the civil society is the realm of the economic relationships in modern industrial capitalist society; its estates are: 1/ agriculture, 2/trade, and 3/industry	civil society – the realm of capitalist interests; possibility of conflicts and inequalities within it (generated by mental and physical aptitude, talents and financial circumstances).	bürgerliche Gesellschaft” - a sphere regulated by the civil code - to denote civil society as “civilian society”,	civil society as separate realm, the “system of needs” – a “[stage of] difference which intervenes between the family and the state” [1] <i>the origin of perception “in between of everything”</i> (Reichel, 2012:58); the civil society is the “universal estate” that enables to fill inequalities that leads to more effective system as a whole;	

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Tocqueville	US as the sample of a the self-conscious and active political society	a sphere of private entrepreneurship and civilian affairs regulated by civil code (as in case of Hegel and Marx)	through association, the coming together of the people for mutual purpose - both public and private, Americans are able to overcome selfishness	individualism a positive force prompted people to work together for common purposes, and seen as "self-interest properly understood" ,	a vibrant civil society functioning independently from the state	associating
Marx	political society as 'superstructure' - driven by interests of the dominant bourgeois class	civil society the 'base' shaping productive forces, where social relations take place	the state cannot be a neutral problem solver	state as executive arm of the bourgeoisie, would wither away once the working class takes democratic control of the society	civil society - represents the interests of the bourgeoisie	rationality
Gramsci	political society, dominates directly and coercively, the civil society is part of the political super-structure, the leadership is constituted by means of consent	vehicle for the bourgeois hegemony, when represents a particular class; division is purely conceptual and the two in reality, often overlap		site for problem-solving, contributor of the cultural and ideological capital required for the survival of the hegemony of the 'private' or 'non-state' sphere (the family, the education system, trade unions, etc.), including the economy		

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
New Left	call for "participatory democracy" based on non-violent civil disobedience			non-violent civil disobedience (Tom Hayden, 1962 – Port Huron Statement)	the key role of civil society in defending people against the state and the market and in asserting democratic will to influence the state	
Giddens			going after the "small picture"	increasingly reflective and reflexive, knowledgeable actions	civil society as terrain of the Habermasian dialogic democracy, and social agency by creating one's autonomous Self and through reflexivity the increasing knowledgeability of the actions	
Neo-liberals	civil society as a site for the struggle to subvert authoritarian regimes	legitimizes the development of the third sector as a substitute for the welfare state	restructuring of welfare systems		civil society as replacement of the political society or as the third sector – "civil society" as "the magic bullet", panacea, replacing the state's service provision and social care (Hulme and Edwards)	

	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
"two sector view"	two-sector view of 'market versus states' Anheier (2004)		"residual" segment of social life, a very <i>abstract notion</i> , relegated to confines of the sociological theorizing (Reichel, 2012)	"third sector" - to suggest that it is tertiary, less important than either the market or the state - (Rifkin 2011)	a "nebulous third sector" between or beyond anything else <i>or as a troublemaker</i> endangering the operations of the rest of society" (Reichel, 2012)	
new social movements (NSM)	NGOs				"third sector" as key terrain of strategic action to construct 'an alternative social and world order' (1990s)	
Post-modern civil society studies					neutral stance, marked differences between the study of richer societies and developing states	
Habermas			there has to be a locus of authority where the society can begin to challenge authority		a civil society emerges as none economic, populous aspect, when the state is not represented by just one political party	

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Jillian Schwedler	speaking out against the regime or demanding a government response to fulfilling the social needs				civil society emerges with the resurrection of the public sphere when individuals and groups begin to challenge boundaries of permissible behaviour	
John A Hall	5 distinct enemies of civil society 1/Despotism: the idea of fear, to discourage any group that is formed between society and government	2/ Revival of the republican civic virtues: qualities that hold a moral value or moral principle, the dispositions to obey	3/Specific forms of nationalism: this would be where the rule of majority wins, and assimilation is used in order to form an ideal society	4/Totalizing ideologies	5/Essentialist cultural ideals: social cages of individuals that determine the function and value of a person in the society	
Putnam, Robert D.	even non-political organizations are vital for the democracy		facilitating an understanding of the interconnectedness of society and the interests within it		the civil society builds social capital, trust and shared values, which are transferred into the political sphere and help to hold the society together	
Pertas (2000)				civil society cannot fully mobilize its resources and power because it has no clear understanding of its identity, its meaning, and its context in larger society, i.e. it has not gained yet its common or collective consciousness	the Civil Society joins the State and the Market as the key institutions that are now shaping globalization and sustainable development	

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Salamon et al.(2003)					the “... <i>rise of the civil society</i> ...may, in fact, prove to be as <i>significant</i> a development of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as <i>the rise of the nation-state</i> was of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries”	
Vitányi (2007)			“... heading toward the civil society...civil work may create the “culture of creativity” [and] the horizontal democracy...[of] new socio-cultural movements and communities...”			
Bruyn (2009)		“... <i>civil economy</i> is based on the idea that organizations are in “mutual self-development” while in a competitive market. ...”			he civil economy “... does not profess to account for all facts about the economy, but it is <i>about how people live in communities</i> .”(Bruyn, 2009:235).	

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	Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Rifkin (2011)	the traditional, hierarchical organization of economic and political power will give way to lateral power organized nodally across the society	“...the collaborative power unleashed by the merging of Internet technology and renewable energies is fundamentally restructuring human relationships, from top to bottom to side to side...” (Rifkin, 2011:5)	during the “... <i>morphing</i> from the Industrial to the <i>Collaborative Era</i> ...”	the transformational trends are intertwined with societal changes driven by global emergence of the civil society	“...[by] <i>freeing up</i> much of the human race to <i>create social capital</i> in the not-for-profit <i>civil society</i> , <i>making it the dominant sector</i> in the second half of the century. ... in the next half century ... <i>transcendent concerns are likely to become an ever more important driver</i> of the next period of <i>human history</i> [italics added]” (Rifkin, 2011:5)	
Benkler (2011) and “scholars of the consensus”		common based peer production ; often invisible “second economy” (W. Arthur, 2011) - the interlinked technology changes aggregation into a new “social hardware”,	rapidly growing tensions related to changes - relational, social, theoretical, ideological, political rather than technical- technological	“transforms markets and human freedom” (Benkler, 2002); new “social hardware” which is self-driven and self-controlled and takes over the repetitive activities previously carried out as wage work	“The large-scale cooperation, such as free and open-source software or Wikipedia was not a bizarre side story of the Net, but a core vector...” (Benkler, 2011)	cooperation

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Political context	Economic context	Social context	Social aim	Perception of civil society	Key human characteristics
Chase (2012) Wealth, power, and influence are distributed among diverse individuals rather than controlled by a select few	collaborative economy	"... What we're seeing now is a shift toward a more open, collaborative system. A collaborative economy is more about the use of something than the ownership of it..."		"People, not corporations, are at the center of the collaborative economy..."	
Reichel (2012) in post-modern era the civil society "... can blur the boundaries within society that functional differentiation created through schizophrenia - through being truly postmodern jester with a license to de-differentiate..."		"In the "Next Society" that we can observe emerging after modernity today, civil society as system can perform a paradoxical operation for this society..."	its role" ...is the provision of stability for joint collective action... ...providing joint collaborative action for the common good and social coherence"	civil society as a function system of the society: the guardian of the value of values; is aim is to "...solve those problems that are not solved by any other part..."	

Table 13: Overview of changes in perception of civil society

III. List of interviewees – Table 14

	Surname	Name	Organization name in INTERVIEW LIST
1	Aalto-Matturi	Sari	Ministry of Justice, Head of e-Democracy Department
2	Ahokangas	Petri	Oulu University, professor
3	Belina	Karoly	Kecskemét College, Mechanical Engineering, dean
4	Bilicki	Tivadar	University of Szeged; Department of Software Development
5	Csonka	Péter	Creative Knowledge Centre LL - Kecskemét
6	Erkinheimo	Pia	Nokia, Forum Nokia
7	Falk	Gyorgy	Varinex Rt., Creative Knowledge Centre LL - Kecskemét
8	Fodor	Csaba	Mórahalom LL, coordinator of the micro-region
9	Forrai	Albert	Mórakert Cooperative - expert advisor
10	Gábor	András	Corvinno - university spinoff, director
11	Grannas	Mikael	Turku Archipelago LL in C&R – major of Pargas
12	Gyimothy	Tibor	University of Szeged; Department of Software Development
13	Halinen	Kari	Arabianranta Service Company - LL, director
14	Hamalainen	Matti	Helsinki University, professor
15	Harjuhahto	Katrina	Association of Finish MBA Students, coordinator
16	Hirvikoski	Tuija	Laurea University of Applied Sciences - LL, director
17	Holstila	Eero	Helsinki City Council, head of department
18	Hongisto	Patrizia	CKIR - Turku Archipelago LL, coordinator
19	Husza	Roland	Mórakert LL, Cooperative, director
20	Hyy	Martti	Oulu University, professor
21	Jarvilehto	Mikko	Oulu University Department Information Processing Science
22	Juntunen	Jouni	Oulu University Department Information Processing Science
23	Kabács	Zoltán	Automotive LL, coordinator
24	Kareinen	Janne	Arabianranta Neighbourhood Association, coordinator
25	Karppinen	Martti	Oulu University, professor
26	Karvo	Mikko	Oulu , Head of Economic Development Department
27	Kiss	István	Creative Knowledge Centre LL - Kecskemét
28	Kojo	Ilpo	CKIR, researcher
29	Kokko	Eelis	Oulu Southern Institute, director
30	Kosonen	Mikko	SITRA, vice-president and CEO
31	Kossa	Lajos	Aba - mayor, Sárviz micro region
32	Kuittinen	Ossi	SITRA, researcher
33	Kulkki	Seija	CKIR, director
34	Laine	Eero	Oulu Innovation, director
35	Lammasniemi	Jorma	Oulu VTT, director
36	Maenpeea	Eva	Ministry of Finance, local authorities department expert
37	Mäki	Seppo	Oulu, Economic Development Department, former head
38	Mato	Peter	Free Software Foundation Hungary, coordinator
39	Minkkinen	Sirkka	Active Seniors Community, coordinator
40	Nieminen-Sundell	Riitta	SITRA, researcher
41	Niitamo	Veli-Pekka	Nokia, ENOLL - European Network of Living Laboratories
42	Oikarinen	Juhani	Kolmas Kerros artist community, coordinator
43	Ollar	Péter	PEMU - Hungarian Plastics industry, Creative Knowledge LL

44	Pasztor	Bela	Veresegyház - mayor
45	Ponusz	Jozsef	Mórakert LL Cooperative, farmer
46	Salri-Siintola	Sari	Laurea LL, researcher
47	Sannamo	Maria	Silvia koti, Waldorf Association, Mercure Bank, Pohjola Bank
48	Seppänen	Tapio	Oulu University, head of IT laboratory
49	Zubonyai	Ferenc	PEMU - Hungarian Plastics industry Creative Knowledge LL

Table 14: List of interviewees

IV. Self-organization as limited self-organizing

The previous research discussed self-organization frequently by deploying systems theory and following non-process or ‘atomistic’ ontologies (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005). The study assumes that the Neighbourhood Association due to its various, often robust and interlinked transformations may serve as sample-case for analysing *self-organizing* and *self-organization* as overlapping, but distinct phenomena. Such comparative analysis may capitalize on process approach and methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005).

The previous research discussing self-regulating organizational change saw self-organization as short-term transition, a switch between discrete, systemic equilibrium patterns or stages in organizations (Ashby, 1962; Eldredge and Gould, 1972; Eldredge, 1985; Burgelman, 2009). This approach perceives organizations as aggregates of things; as equilibrium-seeking, stability-focused social entities (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005). This approach follows the Democritean, atomistic, non-process-type ontology and sees change as temporally lack of stability or equilibrium, a negative phenomenon to be avoided. It describes self-organization following the punctuated equilibrium model (Tushman and Romanelli, 1985; Romanelli and Tushman, 1994) by perceiving it as shift between various stages of equilibrium and generating a new, lasting configuration of the organizational balance.

The equilibrium-seeking organizations are perceived as (quasi-)open systems, where the (accumulation of) external impacts are capable to generate various forms of organizational self-transformation (Prigogine, 1984, 1997; Luhman, 1995 a,b; Plowman et al., 2007; Burgelman, 2009). I.e. energy flows arriving from the system’s environment may generate fluctuations. When the organizations’ balancing mechanisms are unable to suppress or at least moderate these exciting effects the fluctuations may strengthen and even form self-enforcing feedback loops. The (self-)amplifying fluctuations ultimately may push the organization to “enter into the zone of elevated disequilibrium” and to start to balance at “edge of uncertainty” (Prigogine, 1984, 1997; Stahle, 1998, Hirvikoski, 2009; Burgelman, 2009) - as Figure N 9 displays.

The literature argues that the equilibrium-seeking organizations may balance for rather long period at the edge of uncertainty (Burgelman, 2009). Since the growing fluctuations may feedback with strengthening organizational decomposition processes, the organizational entity may “become free” from previous systemic determinations. I.e. the feedbacks among

continuous external exciting (effects); increasing (amplitudes of) fluctuations; accelerating decomposition of organizational components and mechanisms may become mutually reinforcing. Their interplay may decrease the “organizational determinations” and weaken the organization’s identity. Due to the mutually catalytic interplay among: (i) growing fluctuations; (ii) slowdown and stopping of the balancing mechanisms; (iii) increasing amorphousness, fluidity and accelerating decomposition of organizational structures and boundaries; (iv.) accumulation of growing amount of un-structured, “fluid” resources; and (v) the increasing level, “volume” of free dissipative energy the organization may enter into the “zone of elevated dis-equilibrium” or “chaos zone” (Prigogine, 1984, 1997; Plowman et al. 2007a; Burgelman, 2009). Since the organizational determinations may continuously weaken and even (temporally) disappear due to feedbacks among amplification of the fluctuations and the decomposition of the organizational roles, structures and mechanisms⁶⁰⁷ and the system may “cross the point of bifurcation” and “jump over the threshold of discontinuity”.

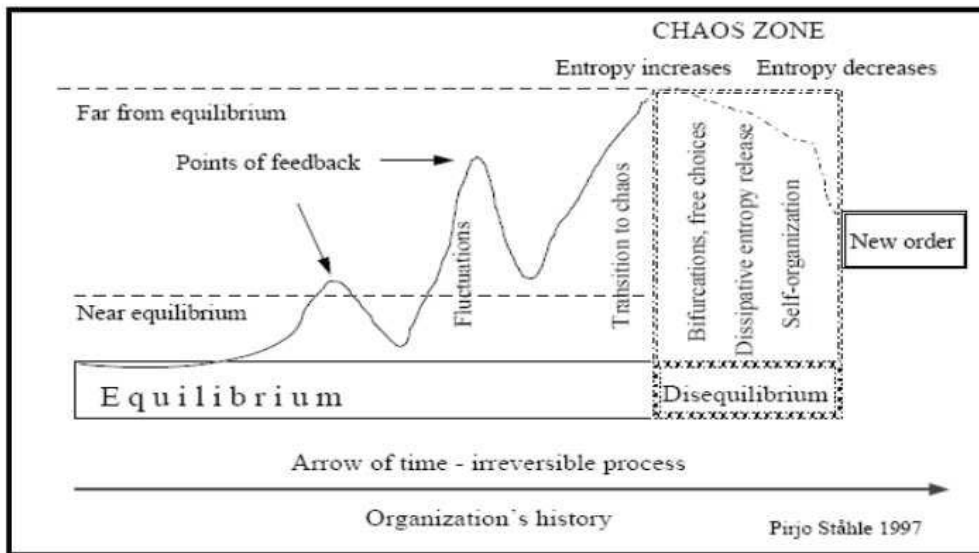


Figure 9: Transformational self-organization – schematic presentation according to Prigogine derived by Hirvikoski (2009:314) from Stahle (1998)

By launching self-organization the entity may start to reorganize itself “upon its free will” into a new (quality) organization by generating a “new order”. I.e. the system may re-create

⁶⁰⁷ Burgelman (2009) emphasizes that the quick weakening and disappearance of the equilibrium-seeking entity’s organizational identity - that its characteristic functional-structural-contextual configurations generate and constitute - may lead to and cause its systemic collapse without launching self-organization and the emergence of a new, altered identity of the transforming organization.

through self-organization another, distinct functional-structural-contextual configuration or organizational identity, which is capable to establish and maintain an altered pattern of organizational equilibrium enabling lasting, balanced organizational functioning⁶⁰⁸. The transforming entity through the self-organization re-shapes, re-determines the dominant pattern(s) of its equilibrium and dynamics, its functional-structural-contextual configuration defining its systemic quality or identity. With the emergence of a “new order”, an altered organizational configuration capable to ensure due level of equilibrium, the self-organization is terminated and the entity leaves the zone of elevated equilibrium (Figure N 9).

This approach handles the actual transformation (processes) similar to a “black box” where the actual “new order” emerges through “chaotic interplay” among dissipative entropy release, bifurcations, and free choices of the system. It does not indicate which are the particular change processes through which a new configuration emerges; either the cause or mechanism that makes the organization to leave the zone of elevated disequilibrium and to return to its normal functioning instead of continuing to “exercise its free will”.

The thesis recalls that since “...ultimately only individuals act” (Demeulenaere, 2009) the human activity has ‘ontological primacy’ also in context of the organizations and organizational change. When an organization enters into the “zone of elevated disequilibrium” (Figure N 10) the organizational roles, rules and standards and the underlying institutional constellations characteristic for equilibrium-seeking organizations may - at least temporally - cease to orient the individual members’ sense- and decision-making efforts. They have to act in an altered context characterized by interplaying feedbacks among (i) lack of stability and weakening of organizational balancing mechanisms, (ii) increasing unreliability of the organizational roles, rules and mechanisms, (iii) accelerating speed of unforeseeable and unpredictable changes. In such context the interacting individuals’ personality traits and the underlying cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) gain increasing importance compared to values and taken for granted perceptions (Perez, 2002) shaped by and characteristic for the organization. The third, cognitive institutional pillar (Scott, 1995), the personal values, (tacit) knowledge, and the underlying institutional constellations may gain growing significance in comparison to rules, roles and standards that the organization generated and enforced.

⁶⁰⁸ Burgelman (2009) points out that if the decomposition of systemic components (and the determinants of their interplay) unfolds overly quickly in an entity that balances at the “edge of chaos” it may even “overrun” and collapse by losing its capability to re-configure through self-organizing.

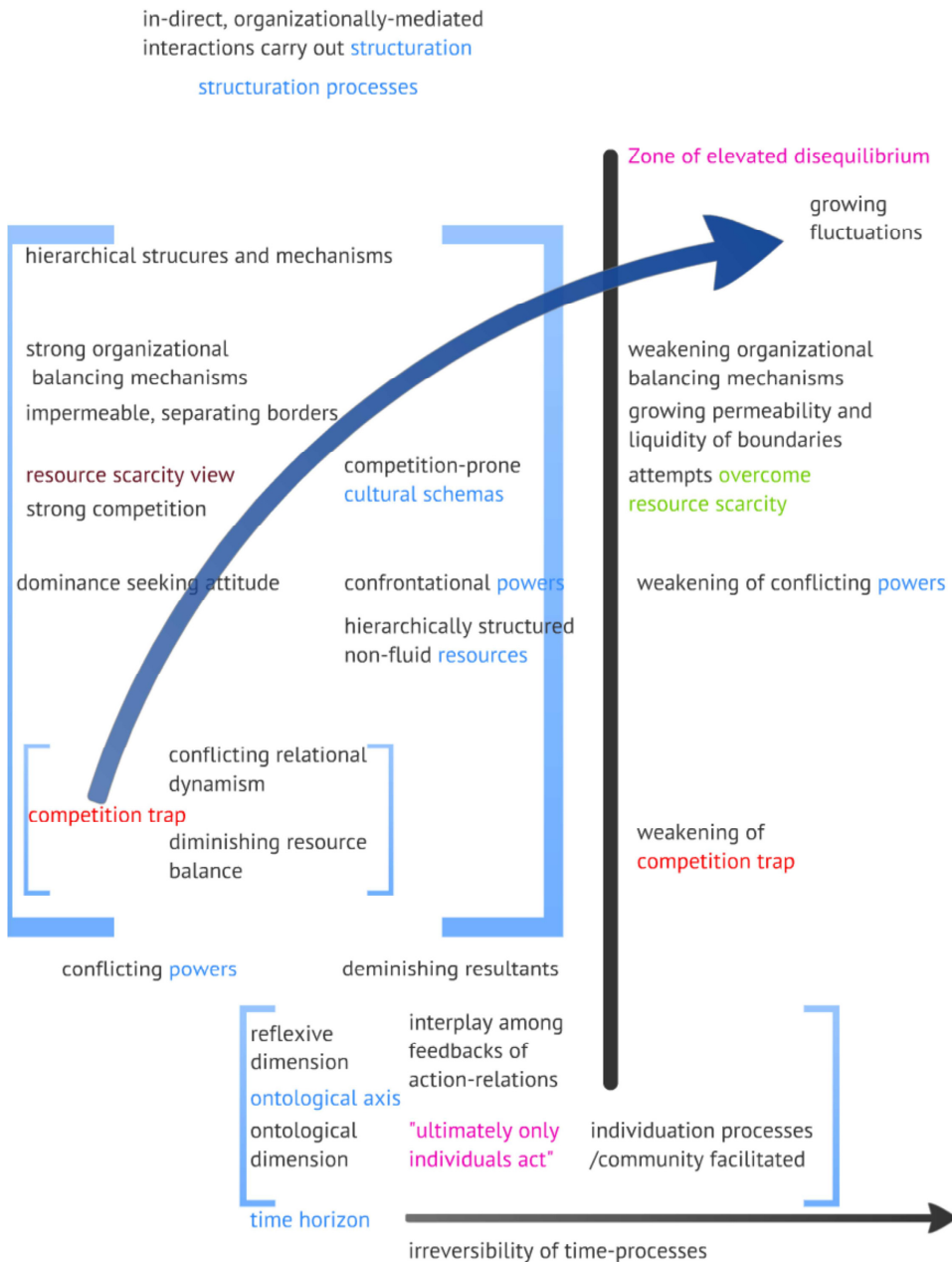


Figure 10: Entering into the zone of elevated dis-equilibrium

Due to growing organizational indeterminacy the individual members' interactions may become increasingly direct, i.e. non-mediated by and through organizational roles, rules and structures. The interacting individuals may act by following their autonomous self or

personality rather than the organizational norms, rules, and standards, which may have significantly reduced effects or may even ‘disappear’.

The importance of inter-personal attractions and repulsions become stronger and personal relationships or interactions may turn increasingly adaptive. Consequently, the individuals’ personality traits and “mutual sympathy” (Adam Smith, 1759, 1776) may increasingly shape their interactions by replacing the mediation of the organizational roles, rules, and standards. The frequency and impacts of more distant contacts, including “weak ties” may also increase. As Granovetter (1973) indicates “weak ties” are capable to generate innovative ideas, behaviours, and impacts; catalyse non-traditional organizing and structuration processes⁶⁰⁹.

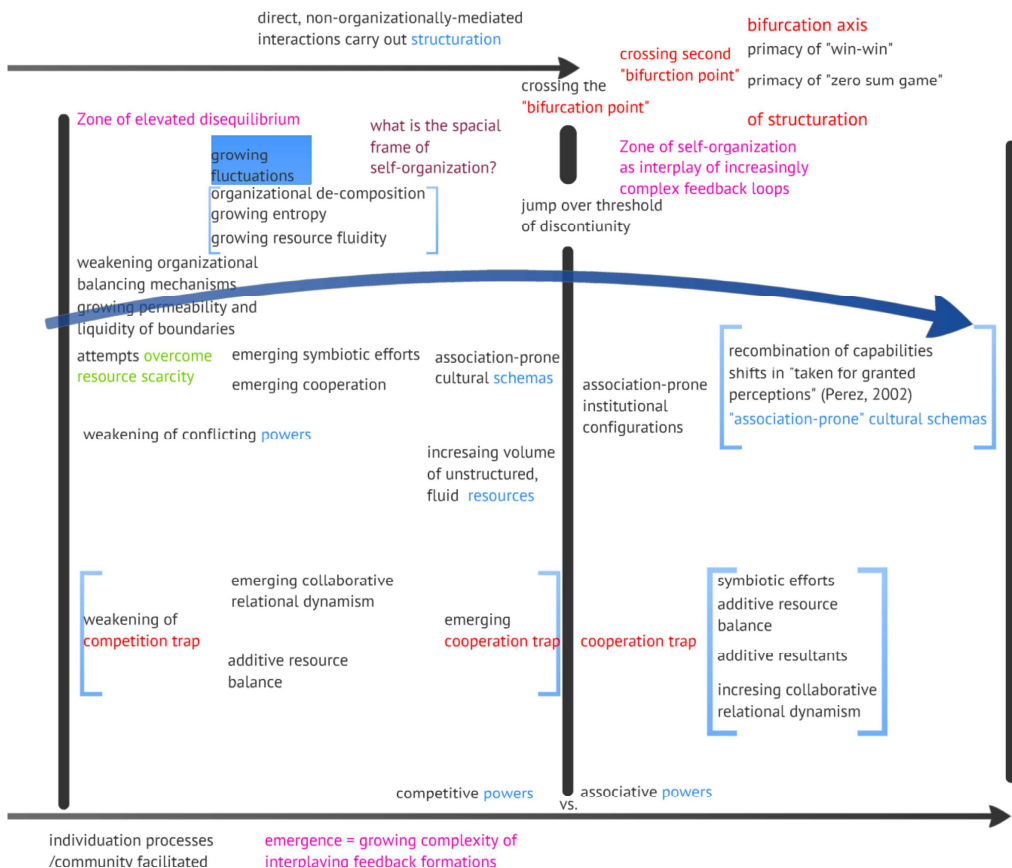


Figure 11: Feed-backing changes in zone of self-transformation

⁶⁰⁹ The strong ties serve as primary sources of information; mutually shape the individual’s dominant perceptions and every day, recurrent activities - indicates Granovetter (1973). There are the weak ties that often offer genuinely new information and hints arising from rarely, occasionally interacting individuals.

During organizational self-transformation (Figure N 11) taking place in the ‘zone of self-organization’ the interactions may become shaped - often alternately - by (i) the individuals’ personality traits and (ii) the organizational roles, structures and mechanisms, the yet effective ‘pieces’ of functional-structural-contextual constellations characteristic for the previous organizational identity. The various configurations of the enacted institutional settings serve as organizing platforms, i.e. upon the terminology of the previous literature they act as dissipative structures or Autogenetic System Precursors (Csányi, 1989). The characteristics of the “organizationally non-dominated” institutional dimension, the institutional settings that the interacting individuals enact start to exhibit growing influence.

These institutional settings may serve as ‘soft’, institutional-type organizing platform catalysing, affecting, and shaping the interactions’ character, frequency, and content and patterning their ‘self-governing’ aggregation. Consequently the characteristics of the underlying institutional configurations have rapidly growing influence on the (characteristics of the) institutional settings that the interacting individuals enact. In case the intertwined institutional dominance of the zero-sum paradigm and the resource scarcity view the interacting individuals’ sense- and decision making enact institutional settings that generate and maintain dominance-seeking attitude and competitive - more realistically conflicting or confronting - relational dynamism. The interactions re-transform the fluid resources and the excess energy that the dissipative entropy releases during and due to the organizational decomposition processes into durable, reified organizational structures. The enacted institutional settings serving as dissipative structures or AGSP’s generate increasingly complex super-cycles, and launch the compartmentalization or functional specialization of the organizational components (Csányi, 1989) (Figure N 12).

Consequently, due to the institutional primacy of zero-sum paradigm and the resource scarcity view the interacting individuals may prefer competitive rather than associational advantage; centralized rather than decentralized resource management; stability and equilibrium rather than flexibility and dynamism; and as a consequence, vertical hierarchies of equilibrium-seeking organizations rather than “organizing without organization” (Shirky, 2008) unfolding through continuous self-organizing. I.e. upon the institutional dominance of zero-sum paradigm they follow rational choice theory and start to fulfil subsequent organizational roles. Consequently, they attempt to maximize short term gain(s) and follow dominance-seeking attitude, therefore (i) through (re-) emerging hierarchical organization try to “internalize”,

control the resources' maximum amount and quality (ii) by simultaneously “positioning” themselves to the possibly “highest” organizational role(s) in a new vertical hierarchy⁶¹⁰.

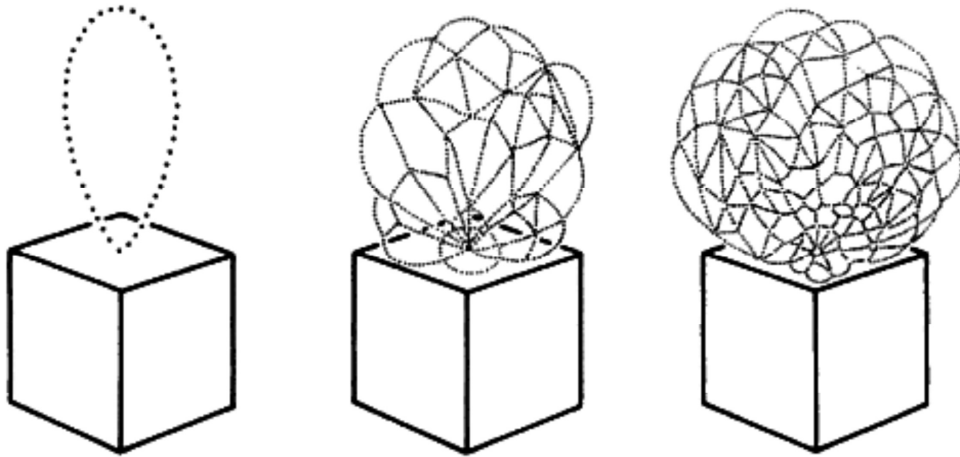


Figure 12: AGSP catalysed super-cycles and compartments (Csányi, 1989:39)

In line with this approach the interacting individuals re-start (to carry out) organizational roles rather than continue to interact through non-mediated, inter-personal action-relations⁶¹¹. The various roles aggregate into reified organizational structures following patterns of vertical hierarchies enabling centralized resource management. The self-organization unfolds as temporally and “deformed” self-organizing that due to re-emerging institutional twin-primacy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view carry out a shift between two lasting patterns of organizational equilibrium-seeking - as Figure N 13 indicates.

Although - some of the interacting - individuals may continue to enact association-prone institutional settings that operate as organizing platforms their parallel, distributed, and mutually adaptive interactions' aggregation into self-organizing may slow down and weaken. The direct inter-personal contacts unfolding without mediation of organizational roles and structures may become infrequent, inadequate, and un-capable to facilitate the individual interactions' aggregation into (continuous) self-organizing.

⁶¹⁰ By following rational choice theory, interacting individuals prefer to avoid making (any) “risky, longer term investments” in further collaborative, symbiotic efforts that could generate new capabilities, increase the volume, and improve the quality of commonly accessible, future resources. The institutional primacy of “zero sum” paradigm focuses, on “present value” and possible future value considers only with significant “discounts”.

⁶¹¹ The direct, non-organizational role mediated interactions are shaped ultimately by the personality of the interacting individuals.

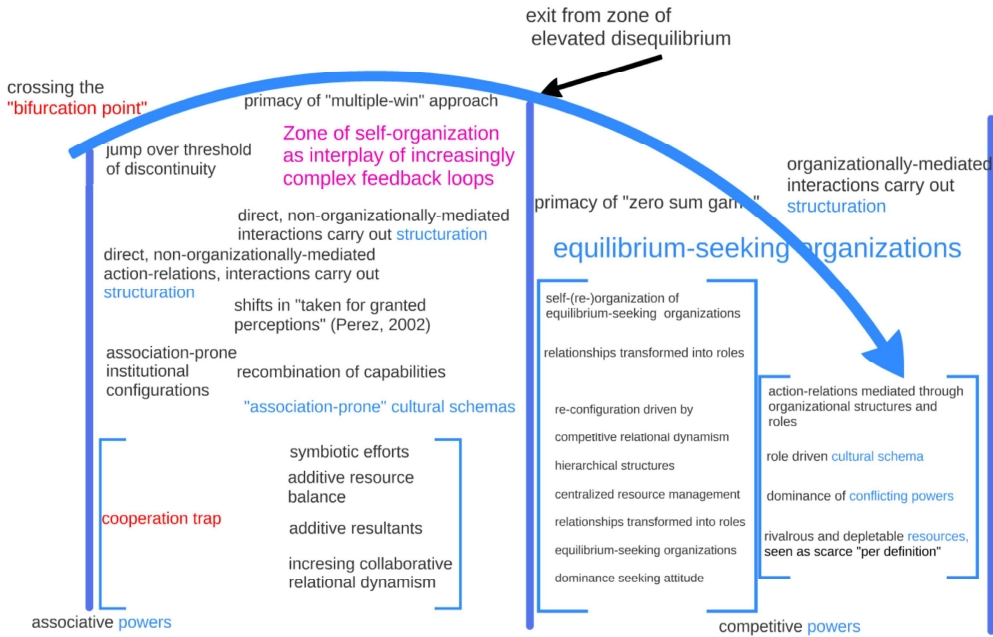


Figure 13: Re-emergence of new equilibrium-seeking configuration

The intertwined institutional dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view regenerates the organizational primacy of the dominance-seeking attitude generating conflicting and confronting relational dynamism. The emerging pre-determined organizational rules, norms, and standards belong to first and second institutional pillars and are dominated by zero sum game paradigm and resource scarcity view. Their individuals' interactions become driven by organizational roles instead of personality traits. They (have to) follow rules focusing on competitive advantage and short-term gains. Their behaviour starts to follow patterns and hierarchical logic of organizational roles shaped by regulative and normative rather than by the cognitive, third institutional pillar (Scott, 1995).

The increasingly complex systemic determinations with growing strength generate organizational roles and re-shape their aggregation into hierarchies of equilibrium-seeking organizations that carry out accumulation and redistribution of resources through centralized management. The organizational-role driven interactions aggregate into new pattern of functional-structural-contextual configuration providing organizational equilibrium by unleashing balancing mechanisms safeguarding the stability of the re-emerging organizational entity. The resulting equilibrium-seeking organization aims to limit, even exclude both self-organizing and self-organization in order to increase (functional) predictability and

organizational stability. The entropy decreases and by reaching organizational closure⁶¹² the self-organization stops (Csányi, 1989). The organization leaves the “zone of chaos” or “elevated dis-equilibrium” (Figure N 14).

Consequently, the self-organization is a transformational pattern unfolding as the interplay among and the aggregation of self-extinguishing feedback loops. The study assumes that in environments dominated by the institutional primacy of zero-sum paradigm the self-organizing carries out a one-off shift between two equilibrium-seeking organizational patterns. I.e. it has a tendency ‘extinguishing itself’ by re-generating equilibrium-seeking organizations that aim to limit and exclude self-organizing. To put in another way, due to the institutional dominance of zero-sum paradigm the self-organizing paradoxically (re-) generates an altered equilibrium-seeking organizational pattern aiming to stop and prevent its (re-) emergence. Nevertheless, the equilibrium-seeking organizations due to the ‘competition trap’ possess ‘inbuilt tendency’ to (cyclically) re-launch self-organization.

The issue is that the equilibrium seeking organizations may increase their functional complexity only through enhancing their organizational complexity what generates their ‘inclination’ to bureaucratization. I.e. they tend to increase their organizational complexity independently from - and occasionally even by decreasing - their functional effectiveness⁶¹³. The equilibrium-seeking organizations are characterized by role-driven, reified relations that generate bureaucratic inclinations catalysing the interplay among growing resource consumption, diminishing resource balance, base and outputs, and weakening organizational balancing, equilibrium-maintaining capacity. Consequently, although the equilibrium-seeking organizations aim is to prevent self-organizing these ‘spiralling down’ tendencies cyclically (re-) generate the ‘competition trap’ by re-launching self-organization.

⁶¹² “We can speak of some kind of functional differentiation and cooperation that result in the formation of communities of simultaneously replicating components; that is, subsystems called *compartments* form. The components of these are separated from the components of others by their participation in coreplication. The emergence of components is equivalent to the organizational, i.e. functional closure of the network of component-producing processes and components having a replicative function. This succession of events is called the *compartmentalization* and *convergence* of replicative information”(Csányi, 1989:22).

⁶¹³ In comparison the continuously unfolding self-organizing allows and carries out ‘organizing without organization’ (Shirky, 2008) enabling to enhance functional complexity and effectiveness through growing sophistication of the interactions - without necessarily increasing organizational complexity. I.e. the continuous self-organizing facilitates to improve both (i) the complexity and effectiveness of the activities without increasing organizational complexity, and (ii) the effectiveness of the collective resourcing.

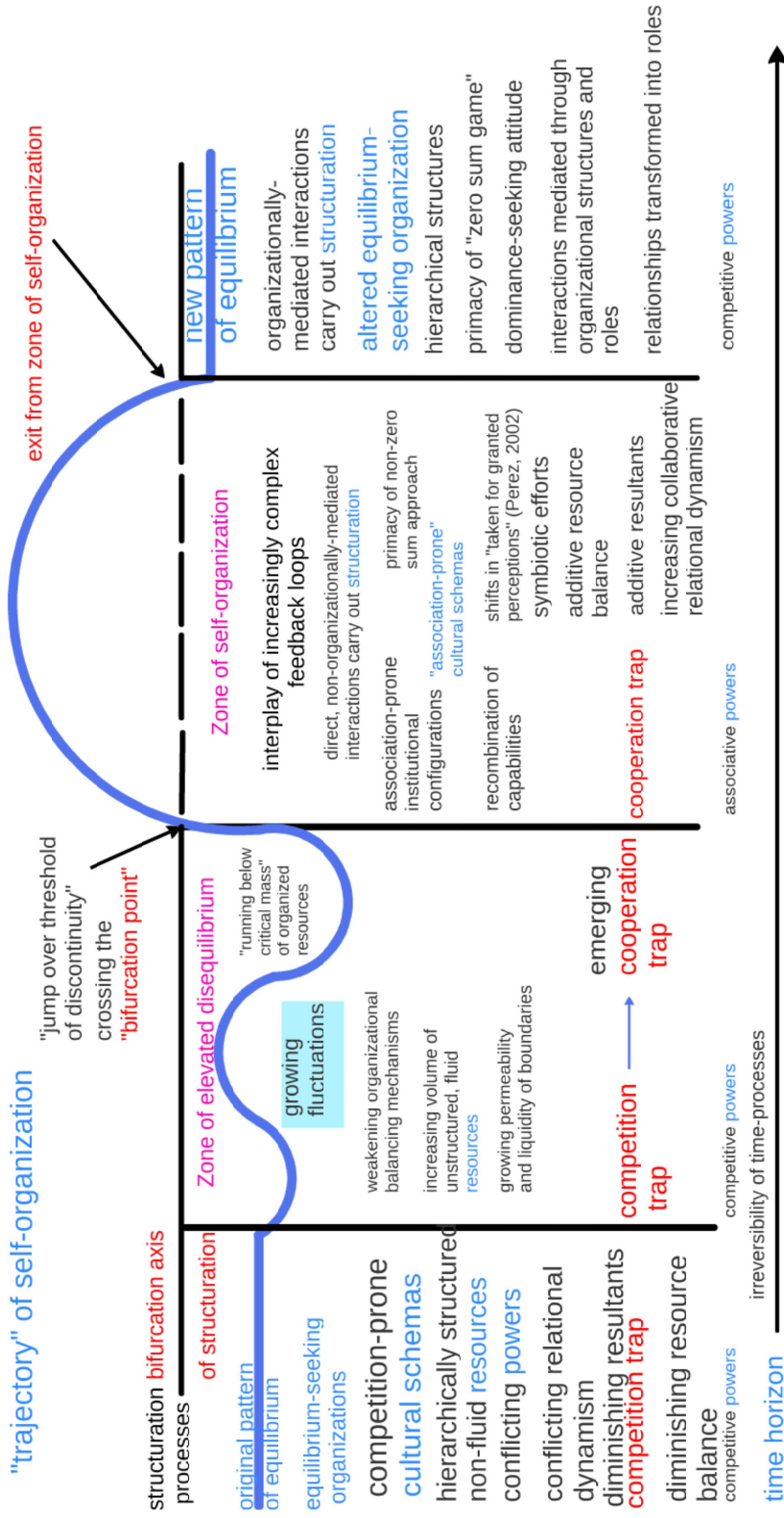


Figure 14: The 'organizational trajectory' of self-organization

SELF-ORGANIZING	SECOND ORDER COMMUNITIES	EQUILIBRIUM -SEEKING ORGANIZATIONS	SELF-ORGANIZATION
association seeking institutional configurations	win-win driven, association-prone, institutional dynamism	zero sum game driven institutional dynamism	dominance seeking institutional configurations
associational advantage co-generation	domain of volunteer cooperation	domain of profit making and public task fulfilment	through equilibrium patterns restore 'balanced functioning'
(institutional) organizing platforms enable non-mediated by roles and structures interactions	association-prone institutional configurations operating as organizing platforms	hierarchical structures as aggregates of organizational roles	organizational roles aggregating into organizational structures
amplify collaborative relational dynamism	individual interaction following personality traits	organizational roles may transform individuals into estranged 'organizational components'	carry out exclusive and fragmented cooperation
motivation for enhance collaboration	aggregation of interactions into processes of self-organizing	potential divergence between formal tasks and organizational self-interests	transition between distinct organizational stages providing temporally equilibrium
institutional primacy of non-zero sum approach	adaptive interactions unfolding at parallel, distributed, mutually adaptive manner	aggregates of organizational roles, structures	institutional primacy of zero-sum paradigm
increasingly association-prone attitude and institutional dynamism	Complex Adaptive System (CAS)	quasi-open systems	growingly dominance seeking attitude and institutional dynamism
direct, non-mediated contacts of individuals	collaborative, co-opetitive relational dynamism	competitive, conflicting, confrontational relational dynamism	individuals fulfilling organizational roles
social agency	empowerment: multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives (Page and Czuba, 1999)	mass-estrangement through self-transformation into organizational roles	enhancing mass-estrangement tendencies
improved effectiveness of collective resourcing			decreasing effectiveness of collective resourcing

Table 15: Comparison of self-organizing and self-organization

Consequently, the *self-organization* despite its relatively higher visibility in the literature exhibits a particular, *limited case of* altered or deformed *self-organizing* (Table N 15). It re-establishes the dominance of the (hierarchies of the) organizational roles bringing about the individuals' self-estrangement and their interactions' self-reification. This constellation, which is characteristic for the equilibrium-seeking bureaucracies, from time to time re-generates the 'competition trap', which re-launches limited and temporally self-organizing.

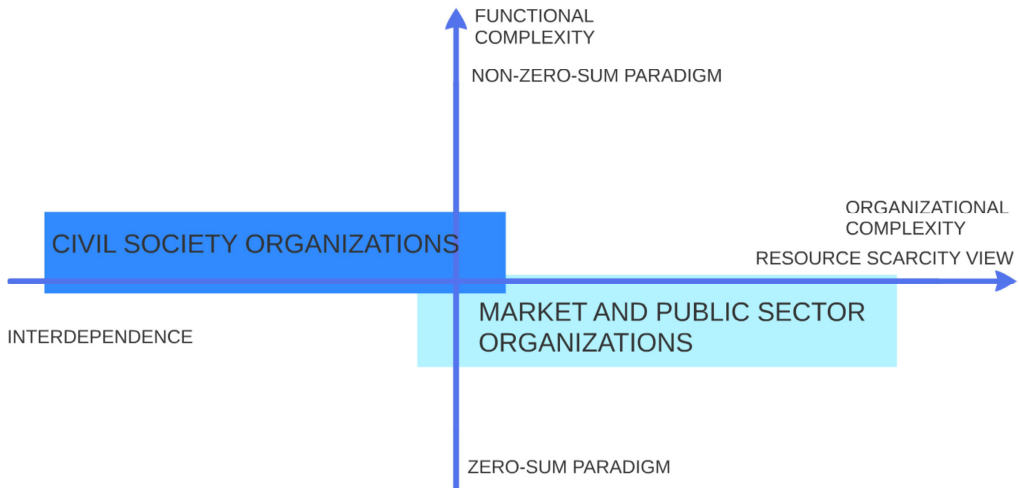


Figure 15: Organizational characteristics depicted through institutional coordinates

By contrast in 'institutional fields' characterized by the dual-primacy of the non-zero-sum approach and the interdependence the self-organizing may unfold continuously. It creates the characteristic differences of the civil society organizations in comparison to market and public sector organizations - as their 'position' in a dual coordinate system indicates (Figure 15). Consequently a dual coordinate system considering simultaneously the institutional aspects as well as the (dynamics of the) functional and organizational complexity may provide an improved graphical comparison of the self-organizing unfolding continuously in the civil society organizations and the self-organization cyclically re-emerging in the equilibrium-seeking market and public sector entities (Figure 16a). As the Figure 16b demonstrates - by displaying the findings of the narrative analysis of the Neighbourhood Association as sample-case - the institutional dual-primacy of the non-zero-sum approach and the interdependence creates a *second, institutional bifurcation axis*. These institutional constellation catalyses the civil society organizations networking self-upgrading that brings about a new dialectics by enabling to overcome the cooperation paradox - as the subchapter 3.4 describes.

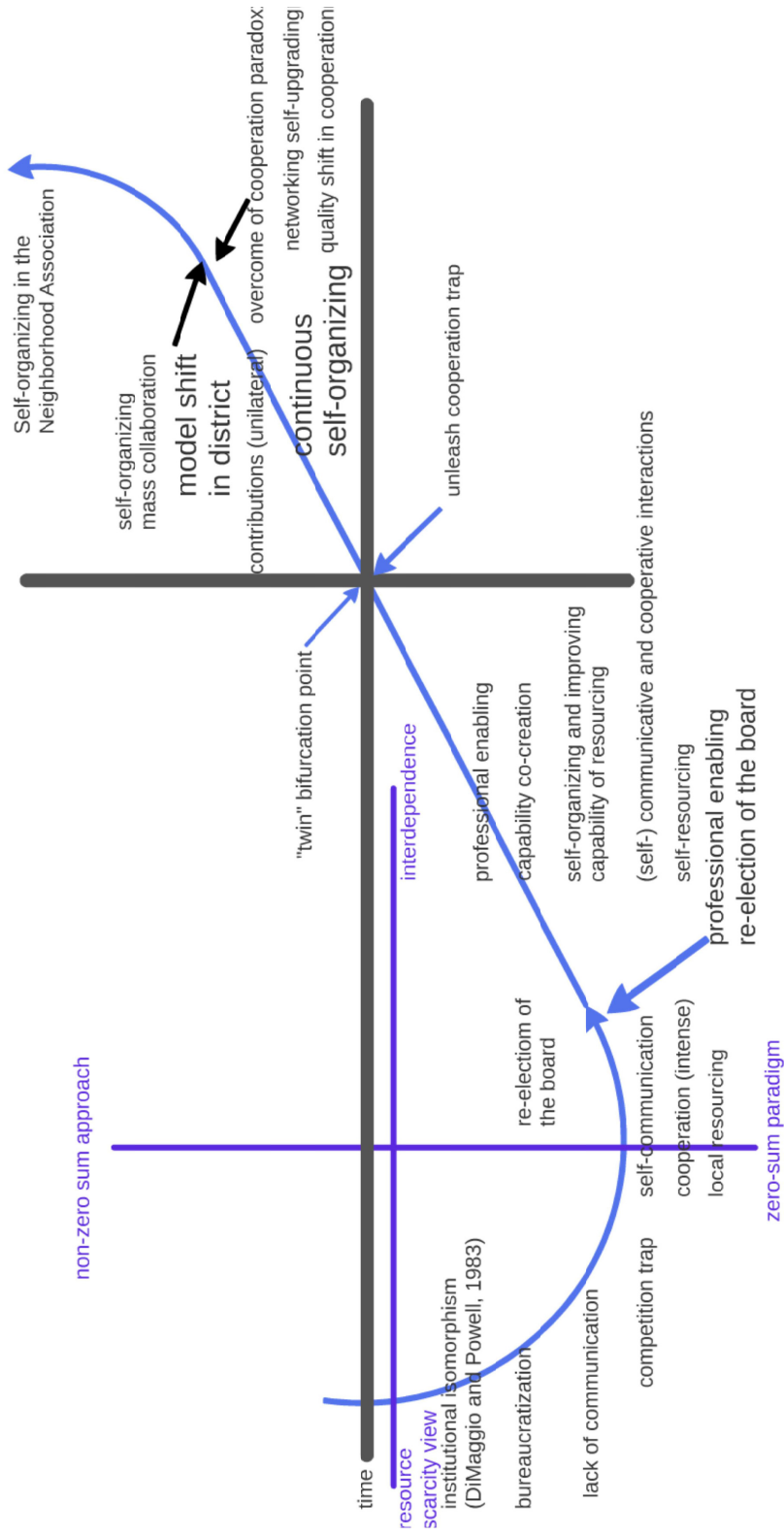


Figure 16a – Dual-transformation in the Neighbourhood Association

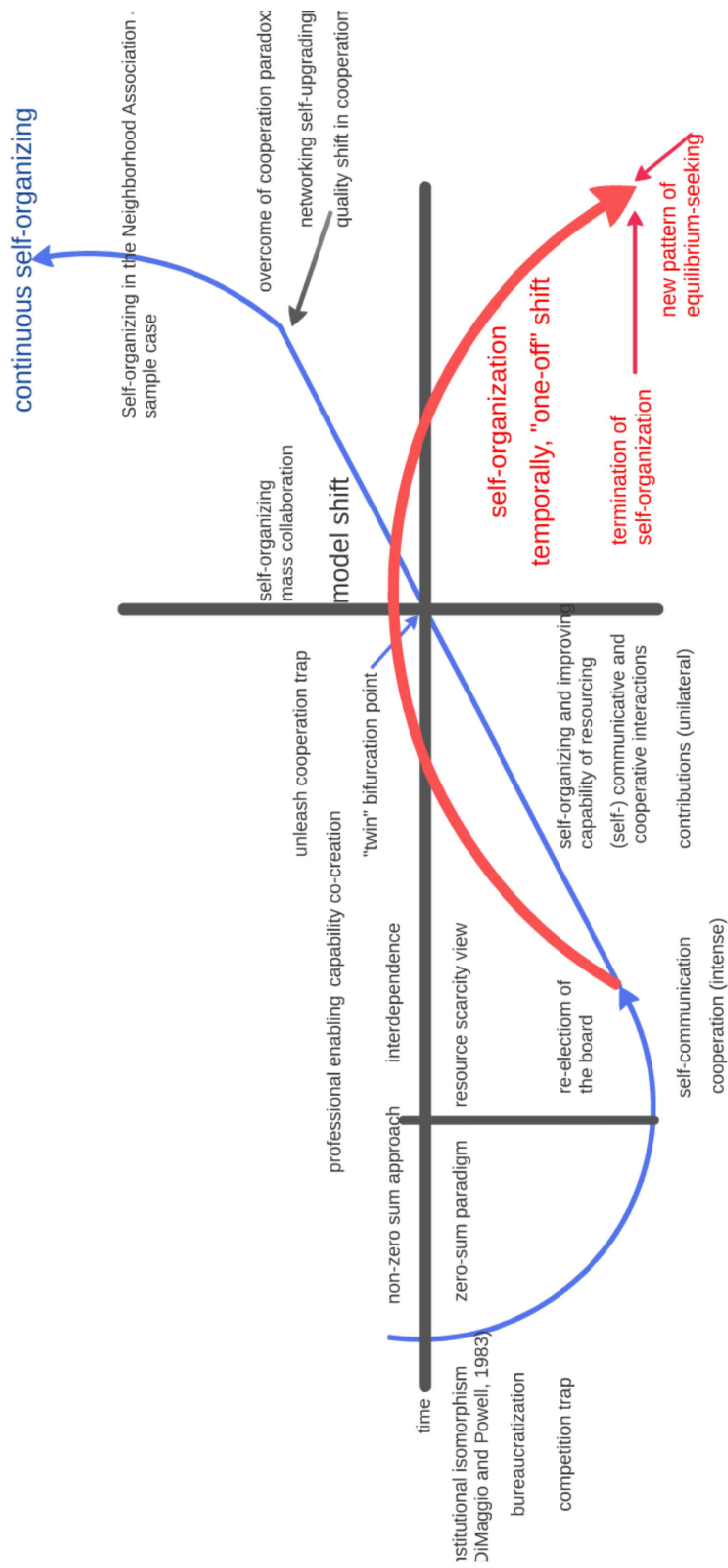


Figure 16b: Graphical comparison of the trajectories of self-organizing (Neighbourhood Association) and self-organization

V. Overview of the primary ‘quantitative scrutiny’ of the empirical data

The processing of the interviews and various other data sources provided abundant empirical data which were summed up in a primary ‘general data table’ containing 20 case-communities by reflecting their 25 attributes (Table N 16). This table served as useful and relatively flexible electronic ‘data source’ for subsequent phases of the iterative scrutiny⁶¹⁴. The recursive processing of extracted empirical data indicated the focal role - and enabled to identify a primary set of - case-communities. Their recursive examination led to alterations in delimitation, grouping and brought changes also in number and grouping of their most relevant attributes. I.e. the first phase of the data processing unfolded as an iterative ‘scrutiny’ or quantitative (pre-) analysis, which enabled to identify cases and case-communities and their relevant attribute sets.

The emerging multi-coloured primary set consisted of 20 case-communities characterised by various locations, fields and scopes of activity (Table N 17 - below). The (members of the) selected communities acted mostly in physical dimension although, frequently capitalized on various enabling technologies, while participants of social networks operated primarily in the virtual space⁶¹⁵. Their further recurrent examination enabled to group the primary set of case-communities into 5 clusters (Table N 18 and 19) by simultaneously identifying three characteristic aspects (community, personal, and relational) of the observed 25 attributes (Table N 20). The outcome of the primary quantitative checking of the 20 case-communities grouped into five clusters sums up the Table N 21, which displays the presence or absence of 25 attributes grouped in three - community, personal and relational - aspects. I.e. this table offers an overview of the results of primary phase of the cross-case analysis carried out by following pattern replication approach promoted by Eisenhardt (1998, 2007).

The further iterations resulted in a modified secondary set consisting of 21 case-communities (Table N 22) grouped into 5 clusters (Table N 23) which were classified upon the 12 most relevant attributes (Table N 24). I.e. it brought about changes in delimitation of case-communities and indicated - a decreased number of the - attributes.

⁶¹⁴ The Appendices offers an enlarged copy of the Table 16, since in its A4 variant the data remain ‘hardly-accessible’ for the reader. Although as an Excel table it served as useful electronic tool, its printed versions turn to be ‘oversized’ and less usable.

⁶¹⁵ From this set based upon their tasks, visions and mission(s) 8 were connected to Living Laboratories, 5 to knowledge economy, and 3 to e-Democracy.

Consequently, the primary, quantitative analysis helped to identify the communities as primary units of analysis, enabled to select a secondary set of case-communities and their most relevant characteristics, however, it failed to indicate any significant patterns or constructs of their dynamism. This negative outcome provided indirect indications of the necessity to continue the analysis by deploying qualitative methods. A subsequent second, in-depth phase of cross-case analysis of the secondary set of case-communities had a qualitative focus, which aimed at construct creation by deploying methodological pluralism (Van der Ven and Poole, 2005). The shift to the qualitative approach allowed identifying the communities' transformational impacts (Table N 6 in subchapter 3.2); analysing sources and mechanisms of the communities' transformational dynamism (subchapter 3.3); and examining the broader transformational outcomes of civil society organizations (in subchapter 3.4).

[illegible]

Table 16: Overview of the primary ‘general data table’¹⁶

⁶¹⁶ The resulting voluminous Excel table in electronic variant proved to be a useful data source, however its printed version even in A3 size remains difficult to access.

		FINNISH	CASE-COMMUNITIES
1	F1C1		Transformations in emerging knowledge economy
2	F2C1		e-Democracy network - Finland
3	F5C1		Informal network of leaders - Oulu
4	F6C2		Enabling in Neighbourhood Association - Arabianranta
5	F6C3		Artist Community
6	F6C4		Active Seniors Community
7	F7C1		Care TV users' community
8	F8C1		Open innovation - Turku
9	F8C1		Legislative change initiated locally - Turku
10	F9C1		Life-sharing community - Silvia koti
11	F11C2		Changes in value perception and creation
12	F14C1		Networking communities in company ecosystems
13	F14C2		Intra-company community enhancement
		HUNGARIAN	
14	H2C1		Open-innovation community - Morahalom
15	H5C1		Open source communities
16	H6C1		Local e-Democracy - Aba
17	H7C1		Informal network of leaders - Veresegyház
		EUROPEAN	
18	E1C1		Sharing and transformation in Living Laboratory
		GLOBAL	
19	G1C1		Geometry of relationships in social networking - Facebook
20	G1C2		Social networking of professionals - LinkedIn

Table 17: Primary set of case-communities

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			N OF ATTRIBUTES
1		Alumni of Economic Schools	14
2		e-Democracy network	8
3		Informal networking - Oulu	15
4		Neighbourhood Association	11
5		Artist Community	4
6		Active Seniors Community	14
7		Care TV users community	8
8		Open innovation community Turku	5
9		Life-sharing community - Silvia koti	13
10		Finnish Waldorf Schools	3
11		Social banking / "pedagogical leadership"	6
12		Communities in company ecosystems	3
13		Intra-company community enhancement	3
14		Open-innovation community of farmers	8
15		Open source communities	12
16		Local participation through street communities	13
17		Informal networking - Veresegyház	3
18		Social networking	7
19		Social networking of professionals	1
20		Living Laboratory networks	19
		EMPOWERMENT	
		"LIFE-SHARING" COMMUNITIES	
5		Artist Community	4
7		Care TV users community	8
6		Active Seniors Community	14
9		Life-sharing community - Silvia koti	13
10		Finnish Waldorf Schools	3
4		Neighbourhood Association	11
		LOCAL ENABLING	
3		Informal networking - Oulu	15
17		Informal networking - Veresegyház	3
14		Open-innovation community of farmers - Mórahalom	8
8		Open innovation community of farmers - Turku	5
		SHARING ECONOMY	TRANSFORMATIONS
12		Communities in company ecosystems	3
13		Intra-company community enhancement	3
11		Social banking / "pedagogical leadership"	6
15		Open source communities	12
1		Alumni of Economic Schools - economic transformation	14
20		Living Laboratory networks	19
		SELF-COMMUNICATION	
19		Social networking of professionals - LinkedIn	1
18		Social networking - Facebook	7
		SELF-ORGANIZING PARTICIPATION	
16		Local participation through street communities - Aba	13
		successful institutional shift - Turku	
2		e-Democracy network	8

Table 18: Clustering process of the 20 case-communities

	LIFE SHARING COMMUNITIES
1	Artist Community
2	Care TV users' community
3	Active Seniors Community
4	Life-sharing community - Silvia koti
5	Enabling in Neighbourhood Association - Arabianranta
	SELF-COMMUNICATION
6	Geometry of relationship in social networking - Facebook
7	Social networking of professional - LinkedIn
	LOCAL ENABLING
8	Informal network of leaders - Oulu
9	Informal network of leaders - Veresegyház
10	Open innovation - Turku
11	Open-innovation - Morahalom
	SHARING TRANSFORMATIONS
12	Networking communities in company ecosystems
13	Intra-company community enhancement
14	Changes in value perception and creation
15	Open source communities
16	Transformations in emergng knowledge economy
17	Sharing and transformations in Living Laboratory
	SELF-ORGANIZING PARTICIPATION
18	Local e-Democracy-Aba
19	Legislative change initiated locally - Turku
20	e-Democracy network - Finland

Table 19: The 5 clusters of the 20 case-communities

	ATTRIBUTES OF ALL CASE-COMMUNITIES	TOTAL
	COMMUNITY ASPECTS	
1	WIN-WIN APPROACH	13/20
2	SELF-ORGANIZING	12/20
3	INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES	12/20
4	ENABLING DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY	12/20
5	HORIZONTALIZATION	11/20
6	NETWORKING AMONG COMMUNITIES	10/20
7	OPEN PLATFORM	10/20
8	RESOURCE MULTIPLICATION	10/20
9	SOFT RESOURCES	9/20
10	SELF-COMMUNICATION	9/20
11	CHANGING VALUE AND WEALTH	8/20
12	AWARENESS CREATION	7/20
13	ENABLING LEADERSHIP	7/20
14	CAPABILITY CREATION	5/20
	PERSONAL ASPECTS	
1	EMPOWERMENT	12/20
2	WORK - PASSIONATE AND SHARING CO-CREATION	10/20
3	LIFE QUALITY CHANGES	9/20
4	SOCIAL AGENCY	9/20
5	PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT	8/20
6	SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS	8/20
7	OVERCOME ESTRANGEMENT	8/20
8	PARTICIPATION	6/20
	RELATIONAL ASPECTS	
1	COLLABORATIVE RELATIONAL DYNAMISM	12/20
2	QUALITY SHIFT IN RELATIONSHIPS	9/20
3	TRUST - SOCIAL CAPITAL	9/20

Table 20: The emerging three characteristic aspects of the observed 25 attributes

3-1-21-5-3-1.XLSX MISSIONS OF COMMUNITIES			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
ATTRIBUTES																												
COMMUNITY ASPECTS																												
SELF-ORGANIZING																												
NETWORKING AMONG COMMUNITIES																												
SELF-COMMUNICATION																												
INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES																												
WIN-WIN APPROACH																												
CHANGING VALUE AND WEALTH																												
ENABLING DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY																												
OPEN PLATFORM																												
SOFT RESOURCES																												
RESOURCE MULTIPLICATION																												
ENABLING LEADERSHIP																												
CAPABILITY CREATION																												
AWARENESS CREATION																												
HORIZONTALIZATION																												
PERSONAL ASPECTS																												
EMPOWERMENT																												
LIFE QUALITY CHANGES																												
WORK - PASSIONATE AND SHARING CO-CREATION																												
PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT																												
SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS																												
OVERCOME ESTRANGEMENT																												
PARTICIPATION																												
SOCIAL AGENCY																												
RELATIONAL ASPECTS																												
QUALITY SHIFT IN RELATIONSHIPS																												
COLLABORATIVE RELATIONAL DYNAMISM																												
TRUST - SOCIAL CAPITAL																												
CHARACTERISTICS - ATTRIBUTES OF COMMUNITY DYNAMISM																												
1 LIFE SHARING COMMUNITIES																												
1 Artist Community			X	X	X					X	X					X		X	X	X					X	X		
2 Care TV users community					X	X	X	X	X	X								X	X			X	X	X			X	X
3 Active Seniors Community			X	X		X		X	X		X	X			X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
4 Life-sharing community - Silvia koti			X	X	X	X	X	X			X							X	X	X		2X	X	X			X	X
5 Neighbourhood Association			X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X				X	X	X		2X					X	X
N of cases the Attribute appears			5/5	4/5	4/5	4/53	53/53	5/3	5/3	5/2	5/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	5/5	5/5	4/5	3/5	3/5	3/5	2/5	1/5	5/5	5/5	1/5
N of appearance of Attributes "Value"-range of the Attribute			5/5	4/5	4/5	4/53	53/53	5/3	5/3	5/2	5/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	1/5	5/5	5/5	4/5	3/5	3/5	3/5	2/5	1/5	5/5	5/5	1/5
LIFE SHARING COMMUNITIES																												
2 SELF-COMMUNICATION																												
6 Social networking - Facebook			X		X	X			X	X	X						X					X						
7 Social networking -Linkdin																		X									X	
N of appearances of the Attributes			1/2		1/2	1/2			1/2		1/2	1/2			1/2		1/2					1/2					1/2	
SELF-COMMUNICATION																												
7 SUM			6/7	4/7	5/7	5/73	73/74	7/4	7/3	4/73	7/7	1/7	1/7	2/7	1/7	1/7	6/7	5/7	4/7	5/7	4/7	3/7	2/7	1/7	5/7	5/7	2/7	
ATTRIBUTES OF COMMUNITY TRANSFORMATIONAL IMPACTS																												
3 LOCAL ENABLING																												
1 Informal network - Oulu			X	X		X	X		2X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X					X		X	2X	
2 Informal network - Veresegyház														X					X					X		X		
3 Open innovation - Turku						X			X			X					X									X	X	
4 Open-innovation - Morahalom				X		X			X	X	X									X					X	X	X	
N of appearances of the Attribute			1/4	2/4	0/4	2/42	40/41	4/4	2/4	2/43	4/4	1/4	2/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	2/4	1/4	2/4	0/4	0/4	0/4	0/4	2/4	1/4	4/4	3/4	
"Value"-range of the Attribute			1			1		1	1-2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1	1-2	
LOCAL ENABLING																												
4 SHARING TRANSFORMATIONS																												
5 Communities in company ecosystems							X	X			X								X									
6 Intra-company community enhancement									X	X							X											
7 Changes in value perception																												

Transformational outcomes of civil Appendices 116

N	CASE-COMMUNITIES	LL
1 F5C1	Oulu - innovation ecosystem development	Oulu LL
2 F4C1	Helsinki as LL	Helsinki LL
3 F6C1	Arabianranta as...	Arabianranta LL
4 F6C2	Neighbourhood Association as professional enabler	Arabianranta LL
5 F6C3	Artist Community	Arabianranta LL
6 F6C4	Active Seniors' Community	Arabianranta LL
7 F7C1	Care TV users' community	Laurea LL
8 F8C1	Open innovation of farmers - Turku	Turku / C@R LL
9 H2C1	Open-innovation of farmers - Mórahalom	Mórahalom / C@R LL
10 E1C1	Sharing and transformation in Living Laboratories	European Network of Living Laboratories /ENOLL/
11 F9C1	Life-sharing in Silvia koti	
12 G1C1	Networking through social media	Geometry of reslationships in social networking - Facebook
G1C2		Social networking of professionals - LinkedIn
13 H7C1	Civil society enhancement - Veresegyház	
14 H6C1	Local e-Democracy - Aba	
15 F8C1	Legislative change initiated locally - Turku	Turku / C@R LL
16 F2C1	e-Democracy network - Finland	
17 F11C2	Changes in economic value creation -	
18 F14C1	Communities in company ecosystems	
19 F14C2	Intra-company community enhancement	
20 H5C1	Open source communities	
21 F1C1	Transformations to the knowledge economy	

Table 22: List of 21 case-communities

- 1/ Life sharing
- 2/ Professional enabling
- 3/ Social networking
- 4/ Participation and agency
- 5/ Sharing transformations

Table 23: The 5 clusters of the communities explored through cross-case analysis

- 1 VISION / MISSION
- 2 IDENTITY (building)
- 3 ENVIRONMENT / CONTEXT
- 4 LEADERSHIP (new systems)
- 5 SELF-GOVERNANCE
- 6 POWER RELATIONS
- 7 INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM
- 8 VALUES (creation)
- 9 INNOVATIVENESS
- 10 ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY
- 11 RESOURCING
- 12 RELATIONSHIPS

Table 24: List of 12 attributes selected for the cross-case analysis

VI. Glossary

VI. Glossary	1
additive dynamism.....	3
additive character	3
(mass) alienation	4
association-prone (institutional) dynamism	5
associational societal kinetics.....	5
automation revolution.....	6
bifurcation.....	7
capabilities	8
communities of empowered	8
competition - participative.....	8
cooperation /collaboration - new dialectics	9
cooperation paradox.....	10
economy - digital second	10
Economics - civil	11
empowerment	13
estrangement.....	13
domination.....	13
flow experience.....	14
higher level needs.....	14
horizontalization	15
ideal type construct	16

Glossary 2

ideology	17
individuation	18
isomorphism	18
knowledge society- emergence	19
knowledge – soft resources	20
networking self-upgrading	21
on demand economy	22
power networks	23
quality shift	23
second enclosure	24
self-organization	24
self-organizing	25
sharing economy	26
social capital	27
social capital accumulation logic	27
social field	27
social value generation	28
societal infrastructures	29
societal macro-sectors	30
technology push	31
third institutional infrastructure	32
third societal infrastructure	33
trust	33
volunteer	34
work - non-wage	35

Glossary 2

<p>additive dynamism</p>	<p>The associational dynamism of the institutional dimension - the primacy of the non-zero-sum approach and interdependence replacing the twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity - enables (and feeds back with) a new dialectics of cooperation and competition. The competition following altered, participative character aims to provide more effective contributions to improved life quality, i.e. to co-creation of associational advantage. The participative competition 'beats the problem' instead of beating the competitor and contributes to extension and upgrading of the collective resource base. Since it aggregates improved individual contributions bringing about maximized, shared benefit it may possess additive character and dynamism enhancing cooperative relational dynamism. In comparison the dominance seeking competition is oriented to maximize private benefit by 'beating the competitors' frequently at the cost of decreasing both collective resource base and outcome.</p>
<p>additive character</p>	<p>In civil society organizations the power has additive - growingly associational and lateral - character allowing generating shared and increased outcome. This means a qualitative shift compared to hierarchical patterns of power perceived as domination and control bringing about colliding - conflicting or confronting - relational dynamism and diminished (collective) outcome. Such additive character may arise due to association-prone changes enabling to prevent continuous collisions and increase resultant outcome. These shifts are intertwined with the cooperation's elevation into new, higher dimension and with extension and upgrading of the societal resource base - constitutive of a new associational societal dynamism. Similarly the growingly participative character of competition may bring about its additive character by generating improved effectiveness of cooperation. Due to its additive character the participative competition could contribute to results of collective efforts by amending, increasing their outcome - instead of diminishing or decreasing them due to costs of collisions and other 'expenses' related to "beat competitors". The interplay between additive dynamics and improved effectiveness of resourcing and a new dialectics of cooperation may become mutually catalytic by generating wider association-prone transformational dynamism by replacing the - exclusivity of - dominance seeking competition frequently diminishing collective resource base. These trends may catalyse also additive character of a new, yet emergent associational societal kinetics.</p>

Glossary 4

(mass) alienation -	<p data-bbox="225 1546 329 1753">Various "...destructive processes are often summarized under the concept of alienation - a concept with enough facets and varied interpretations to serve as an adequate umbrella under which to gather a quite varied set of criticisms"(Scott and Davis, 2007:173). Seeman (1959; 1975) identifies six varieties and aspects of alienation:</p> <ul data-bbox="342 790 561 1546" style="list-style-type: none"> -Powerlessness - the sense of little control over events; -Meaninglessness - the sense of incomprehensibility of personal and social affairs; -Normlessness - use of socially unapproved means for achievement of goals; -Cultural estrangement - rejection of commonly held values and standards; -Self-estrangement - engagement in activities that are not intrinsically rewarding; -Social isolation - as the sense of exclusion or rejection. <p data-bbox="575 1546 794 1753">The study assumes that in all particular facets appears through different intermediary mechanisms and in various degrees as underlying institutional trend the intertwined dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. This institutional setup may generate also cooperation paradox or (self-) alienation of collaboration when due to its fragmented and exclusive character the intra-organizational cooperation - driven and limited by group solidarity - generates inter-organizational competition. I.e. the internal cooperation generates dominance-seeking attitude and colliding relational dynamics - its own diametrical opposition - externally. Due to and through its self-alienation the cooperation may and does become source and driver of colliding, conflicting and confronting dynamics at field level.</p> <p data-bbox="807 1546 911 1753">The mass-alienation - and the estrangement as its personal dimension - at significant degree are connected with the wage work and its dominance in social division of labour. The civil society organizations provide altered context for the volunteers' interactions by enabling to transform their (often identical) activity into non-wage work, carried out as passionate and sharing co-creation, which is liberated and un-alienating.</p> <p data-bbox="924 1546 1143 1753">The intrinsically motivated, non-wage work interplays with and is indivisible from institutional, relational and structural changes allowing for creating more healthy relations and conditions in four important aspects: between themselves and the product, themselves and the activity, themselves and others, and between themselves and the human species (Chance, 2005:13). Such multidimensional changes may 'positively abolish' distinction between leisure and work by enabling to become "...an active, creative and fully autonomous person (Kane, 2000)"(Chance, 2005). In other words, the non-wage work feeds back with empowering individuation as communities demonstrate. Switches allowing un-alienating transformation of work - carrying out processes of individual self-creation - may catalyse further changes constitutive of overcoming of mass-alienation in various dimensions.</p>
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	<p>This context gives special importance to patterns of macro-sectorial convergence and emergence of digital second economy, since their association-prone character may facilitate transposing creative energies liberated from wage work to civil economy enabling broader un-alienating tendencies.</p> <p>The knowledge driven socio-economic system, its “flat”, horizontal institutions and organizations are characterized by “multiple win” approach and co-operation is the basic relationship pattern among individuals and organizations. The enhanced cooperation enables resource multiplication, co-creation of additional or surplus wealth, which could be shared by all participants. Such co-creation of freely sharable surplus or additional wealth could have exceptional importance to overcome mass-alienation tendencies, i.e. socio-economic barriers created by resource scarcity view and its self-fulfilling prophecy limiting and often deforming human relations.</p>
<p>association-prone (institutional) dynamism</p>	<p>The volunteers’ cooperative interactions in institutional dimension are interlinked with shift to dual primacy of non-zero-sum approach and - at least tacit acceptance of - interdependence. I.e. the overcome of institutional twin-dominance and self-fulfilling prophecy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view enables and catalyses more association-prone institutional dynamism. The volunteers’ communicative interactions simultaneously presuppose, enable, and amplify association-prone institutional settings’ or cultural schemas’ (Sewell, 1992) enactment during sense and decision-making dialogues (Stacey, 2000, 2010) aggregating into their self-communication (Castells, 2009). The association-prone settings or structures (Giddens, 1984) that their communication (re-)produces may serve simultaneously as social capital (Fukuyama, 1999) and as interpretative schemes of signification (Giddens, 1984). They may operate as institutional-type, ‘soft’ organizing platforms that simultaneously catalyse the reproduction of association-prone institutional settings, the volunteers’ self-communication, cooperative interactions, and resourcing efforts, as well as their aggregation into voluntary cooperation. Consequently, the association-prone character of the institutional dimension enables mass-level volunteering and catalyses broader, feed backing association-prone tendencies and dynamics.</p>
<p>associational societal kinetics</p>	
<p>associational</p>	<p>The current “participative revolution” (Salamon et al., 2003) interplays with the civil society’s globally growing activities catalysing its self-</p>

societal kinetics	<p>empowerment. It feeds back with and catalyses its 're-positioning' in comparison to market and public sector players taking place through and constituting the societal macro-sectors mutual approximation. This convergence is the resultant of multiple - often diverging and diametrically opposing - processes and tendencies. I.e. the convergence is characterized by strong, dynamic non-linearity, often involving mutually catalytic, self-enforcing positive - or self-extinguishing, negative - feedbacks and their loops carrying out aggregation of multidimensional, feed-backing change processes. The convergence capitalizes on and generates unintentional outcomes, innovative developments, and is characterized by shifting balance of exploration and exploitation, i.e. it takes place at self-organizing manner.</p> <p>The volunteers' cooperative interactions capitalize on and catalyse co-creation of new capabilities that may facilitate improved effectiveness of collective resourcing. The civil society and its organizations are domains of vivid self-communication that may create and amplify the volunteers' growing awareness of improvements that their cooperation enables in life quality by enhancing the effectiveness of collective resourcing. Such awareness may re-generate and amplify motivation to cooperate by generating potentially mutually catalytic feedbacks. I.e. this dynamic constellation may unleash the 'cooperation trap' (Csányi, 1989) bringing about self-enforcing feedbacks among multidimensional changes aggregating into self-amplifying and broadening cooperative dynamism - facilitating and ultimately constituting a new associational societal kinetics.</p>
automation revolution	<p>The knowledge economy and society frequently is described as 'driven' by market competition and technological push, i.e. by mighty global 'powers' that drive and shape and accelerate the speed of emergence of a new, digital second economy (Arthur, 2011). After almost a decade of 'jobless growth' (OECD, 2012) the new current challenge may be the elimination of 'human jobs' and (wage) work in mass production. The second, digital economy (Arthur, 2011) proposing significant potential of productivity increase raise as crucial aspect questions about patterns of the distribution rather than production of prosperity. I.e. an "...automation revolution is possible, but without a radical change in the social conventions surrounding work it will not happen ...to properly unleash the automation revolution we will probably need a combination of a universal basic income, paid out of taxation, and an aggressive reduction of the official working day" - emphasizes Mason (2016)⁶¹⁷ the necessity following association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence. Consequently, the emerging digital second economy should enable the creation of "an online economy based in democracy and solidarity" (Ehmsen and Scharenberg, 2016) that is intertwined with patterns of convergence unfolding through self-empowerment and fundamental re-</p>

⁶¹⁷ "Typically, northern Europe is ahead of the curve: Sweden cut the working day to six hours, while Finland is experimenting with the idea of a basic citizen's income" – indicates Mason (2016).

	positioning of the civil society interplaying with powerful association-prone alterations of the third societal infrastructure by requiring active contributions also from the public sector.
bifurcation	
bifurcation	<p>The previous research on self-organization frequently recalls that equilibrium-seeking entities due to strengthening fluctuations may achieve to a threshold of instability operating as a point of bifurcation. At this stage a system may ‘jump over discontinuity’ by launching self-organization creating new organizational forms and frequently more complex systemic level(s) (Csányi, 1989; Prigogine, 1984, 1997; Nagy, 2000).</p> <p>“Bifurcations occur when systems are destabilized in their milieu: they then shift from one set of “attractors” to others... When changes that occur within the systems or in their milieu upset the dynamical balance between system and environment, a chaotic state comes about. In terms of dynamical systems models, point and periodic attractors give way to chaotic ones. If and when the system regains its dynamical balance with the environment, its unstable chaotic attractors yield to a new set of more stable point or periodic attractors.</p> <p>The description of the evolutionary trajectory of dynamical systems as irreversible, chaotic and nonlinear fits the observed course of development in history as well as in nature”(László, 1992:282).</p> <p>As Burgelman (2009:4-5) points out: “A key concept in Prigogine’s scientific work is the possibility of “bifurcation and symmetry breaking.” ...Beyond a critical value of the parameter ...the effect of small fluctuations or disturbances is no longer damped. The system acts like an amplifier and moves toward a new regime, with a potential for getting onto differentiated alternative states (bifurcation). Key here is that “Nothing in the description of the experimental setup permits the observer to assign beforehand the state that will be chosen; only chance will decide, through the dynamics of fluctuations”(Nicolis and Prigogine, 1989: 72)”...</p> <p>The systems are ‘selective’ in their response to changes of both internal and external influences. In accordance with ecological paradigm their selectivity is tightly connected with changes in organizational structures and functional mechanisms unfolding frequently through feedback loops and mechanisms, following non-linear patterns. Upon ecological approach this selectivity characteristic for multi-layered, complex systems is based on and constitutes a ‘cognitive’ or ‘learning’ process. As Nicolis and Prigogine (1989: 73) point out by following systemic approach: “...we have succeeded in formulating, in abstract terms, the remarkable interplay between chance and constraint, between fluctuations and irreversibility... Note the similarity between these ideas and the notion of mutation and selection familiar to biological evolution. As a matter of fact, we can say that fluctuations are the physical counterpart of mutants, whereas the search for stability is the equivalent of biological selection”.</p>

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capabilities	Capabilities (Makadok, 2001) are a special type of resources, (i) whose purpose is to improve the effectiveness of other resources, and (ii) that are organizationally embedded what makes difficult their transfer; i.e. it is the bundling, the way of embedding, and the configuration of resources that builds capabilities.
communities of empowered communities	The communities' transformational dynamism interplays with multidimensional association-prone changes affecting simultaneously (i) the individual members, (ii) the character of their relationships, and (iii) their communities as a whole, and (iv.) may also facilitate extended cooperation among (members of) diverse communities ⁶¹⁸ . The voluntary participation in cooperative efforts may in multiple ways catalyse the community members' self-transformation by enhancing their autonomous self and holistic personality. The communities catalyse association-prone tendencies in various dimensions that in turn facilitate their members' readiness and motivation to collaborate. Moreover, they may facilitate to elevate cooperation into new, higher dimension by launching its new dialectics what takes place through the communities networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities. These feed backing, multi-dimensional alterations that catalyse the members (self-)empowering individuation simultaneously transforming their relational dynamism by carrying out the communities networking self-upgrading transforming them into 'communities of empowered' and generating their quasi-field.
competition - participative	
competition - participative	The civil society organizations are domains of volunteer cooperation frequently possessing multidimensional transformational potential with a capability to affect volunteering individuals, their cooperation, their organization and its broader environment. The volunteers' interactions simultaneously capitalize on and catalyse the interplay between growingly association-prone dynamics and the accumulation of social capital that re-

⁶¹⁸ These changes are constitutive of and carry out the communities' networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third order (Vitányi, 2007) social entities, discussed in detail in sub-chapter 3.4.

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	<p>generates trust and simultaneously extends its radius. The strong social capital facilitates to expand the radius of trust across and beyond the boundaries of particular civil society entities, i.e. catalyses enhanced networking also among members of various organizations. Due to these feed backing change tendencies the communities seem to have a tendency to networking self-upgrading that feeds back with the emergence of a new dialectics of cooperation - and competition.</p> <p>The transformation of the cooperation generating its inclusive and seamless character feeds back with simultaneous profound shifts in competition. I.e. the volunteers may compete with each other in more effective contributions to cooperative efforts aiming to improve their life quality. The altered, participative competition aims to beat problems instead of beat competitor(s). The participative competition proposes solutions enabling to 'increase the cake' by allowing multiple win solutions and providing shared associational advantage. The participative competition follows altered, additive logic and dynamism what allows maximising shared common benefit, increasing and upgrading collective resource base. The participative competition and the inclusive and un-fragmented cooperation mutually presuppose and amplify each other and interplay with abundant stock of social capital.</p>
<p>cooperation /collaboration - new dialectics</p>	
<p>new dialectics, of cooperation /collaboration</p>	<p>The civil society organizations, which are domains of their members' volunteer cooperation, have a tendency to their networking self-upgrading intertwined with a new dialectics of (enhanced) cooperation. This altered dialectics provides genuine synthesis taking place through transformation of both cooperation and competition simultaneously bringing about their altered, upgraded conformity allowing overcoming the frequently emphasized dichotomy - cooperation versus competition. The cooperation serving as antithesis of dominance-seeking competition enables to overcome its contradictions and bringing collaboration into an environment 'dominated by dominance-seeking attitude' and colliding, conflicting and confronting relational dynamism. However, its radius remains limited by boundaries of the particular entity linking it with group solidarity by turning the cooperation into exclusive and fragmented. Moreover it serves a limited solidarity oriented against (all) non-members creating strong dominance-seeking and amplifying inter-organizational competition - by generating mas-collisions and tensions. Consequently, the antithesis externally generates its polar opposite (or its own antithesis).</p> <p>The civil society organizations by carrying out and catalysing systematically cooperation simultaneously re-generate and accumulate social capital that 'produces' trust by extending its radius. I.e. the more abundant is the stock of accumulated social capital potentially the longer may be the range of trust that it creates. This constellation may facilitate networking among members of diverse organizations by catalysing their simultaneous self-upgrading</p>

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	<p>into third level social entities. I.e. the organizations' networking self-upgrading and the cooperation's transformation into inclusive and un-fragmented are intertwined developments - and interplay with the cooperation's elevation into new, higher dimension - with emergence of its new dialectics.</p> <p>This new dialectics creates a synthesis through transforming cooperation into inclusive and un-fragmented and competition into participative - establishing their coherency through becoming mutual catalysts of each other (from antipodes). Such enhanced, upgraded cooperation having seamless and inclusive character prevents the re-emergence of cooperation paradox, the inter-organizational dominance-seeking competition. The cooperation's new dialectics may become very significant source and amplifier of association-prone dynamics in various dimensions and ultimately constitutes also a new, associational societal kinetics.</p>
cooperation paradox	<p>Although cooperation is often presented as phenomenon which "per definition" is positive, the empirical evidences indicate its potential 'dark side' too (Fukuyama, 1999; Benkler, 2011). The limited, group solidarity enhances cooperation, which is oriented against other individuals and groups. It may produce abundant social capital with plenty of 'negative externalities' (Fukuyama, 1999). Such intra-organizational cooperation may generate inter-organizational conflicts - by creating a 'cooperation paradox'. Moreover, the intra-organizational cooperation paradoxically serves as source and driver of robust dominance-seeking competition among various entities. The cooperation that aims to overcome 'internally' alienating, estranging challenges and deformations, which dominance-seeking competition may generate, paradoxically, may re-generate such competition 'externally'. I.e. due to its exclusive and limited character collaboration may generate cooperation paradox, its diametric opposite or antipode, through robust self-alienation.</p> <p>In other words, collaboration based on and driven by group solidarity and unfolding in particular groups or entities generates competition externally and amplifies tensions and collisions with "others". It may lead to conflicts, hostility, and violence across fields by ultimately affecting the society as a whole (Fukuyama, 1999; Benkler, 2011). The exclusive and fragmented cooperation may generate 'cooperation paradox', its self-alienation. The inclusive and seamless pattern of cooperation prevents the re-emergence of cooperation paradox or self-alienation of the collaboration.</p>
economy - digital second	
economy - digital second	<p>The market sector's increasingly knowledge-driven character feeds back with accelerating emergence of a new, digital "second economy" (Arthur, 2011; Cicero, 2012). It is "...another economy - a second economy - of all ...digitized business processes conversing, executing, and triggering further</p>

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economy	<p>actions ...silently forming alongside the physical economy ...[P]rocesses in the physical economy are being entered into the digital economy, where they are “speaking to” other processes...in a constant conversation among...multiple semi-intelligent nodes...eventually connecting back with processes and humans in the physical economy”(Arthur, 2011:3).</p> <p>These trends may generate inherent contradiction because, as Arthur (2011:6-7) points out, while the “...second economy will certainly be the engine of growth and the provider of prosperity for the rest of this century and beyond ...it may not provide jobs, so there may be prosperity without full access for many. ...the main challenge of the economy is shifting from producing prosperity to distributing prosperity. The second economy will produce wealth no matter what we do; distributing that wealth has become the main problem. For centuries, wealth has traditionally been apportioned...through jobs, and jobs have always been forthcoming. ...With this digital transformation, this last repository of jobs is shrinking. ...Perhaps the very idea of a job and of being productive will change over the next two or three decades. ...if we do solve it we may at last have the freedom to invest our energies in creative acts [italics in original]”.</p> <p>The extension and upgrading of the second economy create the potential to increase productivity by decreasing the demand in wage work and by “liberating time” for participation in voluntary, passionate and sharing co-creation taking place in civil society organizations. In other words, the association-prone pattern of emerging second economy may ‘converge’ with a new civil economy that “...is about how people live in communities”(Bruyn 2000:235). However, without due institutional changes its technology push driven pattern continues to generate jobless growth (OECD, 2012) deepening and broadening economic, social, political, and ideological crises tendencies gaining growingly systemic character.</p>
Economics - civil	
Economics - civil	<p>The economics “...is the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses...The conception we have rejected, the conception of Economics as the study of the causes of material welfare, was what may be called a classificatory conception” - emphasized Robbins (1932:16). This approach turns scarcity view to be a self-fulfilling prophecy by creating its underlying institutional dominance by being intertwined with zero-sum paradigm. This constellation is characteristic for the political economy focusing on growing competition generating the “Homo lupini lupus” approach.</p> <p>The Civil Economics focuses in turn on cooperation and in institutional context follows non-zero sum approach, while in anthropologic dimension is driven by “Homo homini amicus est” perception.</p> <p>The two Economics relate also to ethics differently. While in civil economy they are indivisible, the political economy sees ethics as a separate, independent issue. Due to these divergences the civil economy focuses on and discusses common good perceived as the product of multiplication of</p>

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individual wellbeing. In other words, one's win generates multiple wins outcome, while one's loss becomes loss for all. I.e. due to reduction of a single component other participants will also lose. Moreover, if one component becomes zero the end result will be also zero. By contrast, the political economy focuses on total good seen as the sum of individual wellbeing, where individual changes have relatively small collective impacts.

Civil Economics also points at the (growing) non-linearity between wellbeing, happiness, and income growth over a certain threshold: i.e. the civil economy considers the consequences of "happiness paradox". It recognises the importance of collective efforts aiming to strengthen collective bonds and emotions that individualism decomposed. This approach addresses negative consequences of interplay among (i) growing income and wealth gap (Milanovic, 2010; Piketty, 2014), (ii) increasing destructive effects of environmental problems, and (iii) unsustainable character of global development. It goes without saying that the civil and the political Economics perceive growing challenges created by technology-push and jobless growth differently. They also have divergent views on potential role of civil society in finding effective solution(s) for challenges generated by the emergence of second economy. The civil economy gives preference to social value and to wealth in human relations by following the logic of social - instead of economic - capital accumulation. This switch allows and presupposes the institutional dual primacy of non-zero sum approach and interdependence. That shift generates enhanced cooperation aiming to multiply and share resources what replaces competition to dominate and own them: i.e. this approach enables to mobilize sharable and multipliable resources, which often are non-monetizable.

The emerging pattern of civil work - i.e. of voluntary, passionate and sharing co-creation generating primarily social value and wealth - may alter and replace the wage work and job focused perception of work. This trend may offer a viable and functional alternative enabling to avoid jobless growth and subsequent accumulation of economic, social, political and ideological tensions, conflicts and confrontations. These changes facilitate to reshape and transform the current path - rather dominant pattern of path dependence - characterised by technology push driven "jobless growth" (OECD, 2012).

The civil work related constellation facilitates a cooperation-seeking attitude and allows an upgrading that elevates collaboration to a new, qualitatively higher level. The study assumes that the inclusive and un-fragmented nature of cooperation may interplay with emergence of its innovative and growingly sophisticated large-scale patterns. These may serve as the "core vector" (Benkler, 2011) of broader association-prone tendencies and transformational dynamism. The large-scale patterns of collaboration may contribute to social innovations enhancing the capability of civil society to utilize, and "absorb" time and resources liberated from wage work due to the emergence of second economy. Civil society may enhance the effectiveness of resourcing, and improve life quality since it focuses on creation of associational rather than competitive advantage. Civil society as the domain of passionate and sharing co-creation, altered work may facilitate the emergence of a new, non-wage-work-driven social division of labour.

The challenge for civil society in general and the civil economy in particular is to offer practical alternatives demonstrating their capability enhancing the effectiveness of resource enactment and extending and upgrading collective resource base. A cooperative dynamism could enable to smoothly

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	transpose growing volume of resources to civil economy and “...to keep pace with the increasing burden ...placed on the social economy”(Rifkin, 2004:292). The civil economy and Economics may gain new momentum (Zamagni, 2014) and offer ways to reshape the emergence of a second economy (Arthur, 2011) by catalysing its association-prone patterns. This shift may allow an abandoning of the collision course connected with technology-push driven pattern of second economy. Such potential switch in pattern and trajectory of emergence presupposes and catalyses broad cooperation among self-empowering civil society and market and public sector players.
empowerment	
empowerment	The empowerment “...[unfolds as] multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important... To create change we must change individually to enable us to become partners in solving the complex issues facing us. In collaborations based on mutual respect, diverse perspectives, and a developing vision, people work toward creative and realistic solutions. This synthesis of individual and collective change ...is our understanding of an empowerment process”(Page and Czuba, 1999).
estrangement	
estrangement	The estrangement is seen as the personal dimension of mass-alienation. The communities and other civil society organizations may provide - temporally and limited - shelter against multiple pressures bringing about various forms and ‘facets’ of alienation. The participation in cooperative pursuits may enable to socialize, participate for the sake of participation. The volunteering participants may carry out an activity they are found of while to follow their genuine personal treats, i.e. without being exposed to multiple, often contradicting expectations and requirements arising from one’s various roles. The participation in cooperative efforts may facilitate empowering individuation and help to (re-)establish one’s autonomous self and holistic personality. The communities provide a context where the members’ various activities may take place as passionate and sharing co-creation, i.e. as meaningful non-wage work that may help to overcome and prevent (individual) estrangement.
domination	
domination	The domination is intertwined with perception and exercising of power as control over others and the capability and capacity to force others to act against their perceived interests and with institutional twin-primacy of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. The domination is connected with hierarchies enabling to accumulate and redistribute resources by connecting positions with role(s), obligations, and rights, and limitation in resource access. Giddens (1984) argues that structures and structuration processes as well as human action are inseparable from domination and power.

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	<p>However, the civil society organizations are domains where participants decline to accept attempts of domination and control and be treated as 'parts of masses' and 'pieces of human resources'. The collaboration replaces domination and volunteering participants may serve as source of co-inspiration rather than subject of authorization. The personal contacts are driven by reciprocity instead of (only) authority and the resources are shared often without the necessity to 'legally' own them. Also resources are enacted by exhibiting mutual, reverse impact on volunteering agents instead of serving as passive objects of allocation. The collaborative approach is basically horizontal and networking instead of vertical and hierarchical. The interactions interplay with self-communication (Castells, 2009) that provides unprecedented autonomy for communicating subjects, i.e. they enact the communication power by following patterns which are mutually empowering instead of being conducive to (unilateral) domination. The collaboration interplays with horizontal or lateral, non-zero-sum, shared and sharing, integrative 'power with' (Kreisberg, 1992). The collaboration has a tendency to become inclusive and un-fragmented in frame of altered dialectics of cooperation intertwined with the participative character of competition.</p>
flow experience	
flow experience	<p>The volunteers' intense cooperative and co-creative efforts may simultaneously generate the mental state of full immersion, i.e. flow experience (Csikszentmihályi, 1990) or the 'happiness of cooperation and co-creation'. The interviewees described their - individual and collective - experience during involved participation in cooperative creative efforts with the metaphor of a current carrying them along. The flow experience may generate motivation to participate and contribute, also to compete in improving one's contribution to cooperative efforts through participative competition.</p>
higher level needs	
higher level needs	<p>A "linear" motivation theory that Maslow (1943) elaborated indicates six subsequent levels of human needs or motivators to be satisfied in sequencing order starting from 'lowest levels'. The basic psychological or material needs serve survival (to stay alive and reproduce) and security (shelter and safe conditions) are followed by social needs (love and belonging) and self-esteem (to feel worthy, respected, and have socially accepted status). Besides self-esteem to higher level needs belong the self-actualization (self-fulfilment and achievement, creativity and playfulness) and also self-transcendence (seeking to further a cause beyond the self and to experience a communion beyond the boundaries of the self through 'peak experience'). The self-transcendence refers to a state in which humans put their individual needs aside, to a great extent, to favour service of others as Maslow indicated in his later works (Koltko-Rivera, 2006). The volunteer co-operators by contributing to collective efforts through participative competition may experience motivation by being rewarded for voluntary contributions through collective achievements as the Silvia kotí coordinator and expert describes:</p>

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	<p>“...when you have that ...attitude ...you are not asking what do you get, but you ask, how you can help, where is your expertise needed.... And when the whole community is successful, then you get that what you need”(100-20-4-5:254-257).</p>
horizontalization	
horizontalization	<p>By discussing horizontalization tendencies Giddens (1998) indicates that networks and communities - both facilitated by modern technologies - are ‘overriding’ linear, vertical and hierarchical development. He elaborates the idea even further up to nation state and globalisation arguing that the global and horizontal cross-border cultural, economic, social and technological development is stronger tendency than the nation state-based historical, economic, social and cultural patterns limited by national ‘pockets’ of isolated linear developments (Giddens, 1998). The flexible, open, coalition and co-operation oriented institutions and organisations of emerging knowledge driven society are horizontal and network-type, or ‘flat’, which deliver services to fulfil real, ‘non-manipulated’ needs the study assumes. However, in line with the broader tendencies of industrial information society also the horizontalization is exposed to alienating pressures and tendencies as the power networks (Vitányi, 2007) ‘horizontal emergence’ exemplifies. By ‘occupying’ nodes on critical pathways it is possible to control and deform networks by re-establishing traditional domination and control patterns of power and domination-driven configuration of structuration.</p> <p>There is a dynamic interlink between self-organizing and horizontalization tendencies. Horizontalization is particularly visible in structural dimension, for example in declining role, even decomposition of organizational hierarchies. The organizing platforms enable self-organizing processes to unfold through direct contacts among individuals by capitalizing on horizontal management of resources instead of generating, maintaining and enacting organization(s) with ‘heavy’ and ‘costly’ hierarchies in order to carry out centralized resource management. The continuous self-organizing in civil society organizations allows “organizing without organization” (Jarvis, 2009). It enables to manage (often highly) distributed resources at decentralized manner, horizontally, through direct - parallel, distributed and feed backing - personal contacts and interactions. The civil society entities may capitalize on (i) environments with highly distributed resources, similar to inter-organizational space, and (ii) on self-multiplying soft resources similar to knowledge, information, creativity as well as emotional, psychological and relational energies. The accessible resource base may go significantly beyond actual borderlines of particular civil society organizations similar to communities due to their boundaries’ fluidity and active contact building and matchmaking capacity. Through the members’ inter-personal relationships the civil society entities may access and mobilize sufficient resources ‘horizontally’ from inter-organizational space or from other organizations and may capitalize also on knowledge, information and creativity, which are non-rivalrous and non-depletable, i.e. self-multiplying soft resources. The participating individuals contact each other directly, by capitalizing on often institutional-type ‘organizing platforms’ instead of organizational mediation. Organizing platforms are constituted by interplaying (i) association-prone</p>

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	<p>institutional configurations, and (ii) enabling information-communication technologies.</p> <p>Horizontalization, i.e. creation of internal and external horizontal networks, is a solution that also companies have started to use broadly by creating new capabilities to break down 'silos' and get access through networks, to mobilize, pull, combine and team up right competences and knowledge dispersed in different sub-units of over-developed global hierarchies. Firms may even re-organize horizontal 'virtual companies' into independent legal entities. Moreover, sophisticated technologies often become capable to add value only through collaborative organizational re-engineering allowing interplay among internal and external horizontal networks or virtual companies reflecting (social) competence structure of a firm (Friedman, 2005).</p> <p>Informal horizontal communities and networks acting through, by crosscutting traditional institutional boundaries are present and widely developed, moreover became one of crucial success factors in such iconic place of knowledge driven economy as Silicon Valley. Powell (2005) describes the crucial importance of informal sharing of ideas and even proprietary knowledge, which is 'broadly institutionalized' among entrepreneurs, scientists, firms and associations. I.e. ideas are freely circulating, crossing boundaries of firms among members of "communities of practice" (Wenger, 1998) or "networks of practice"(Brown and Duguid, 2001). Collaborative and horizontal structures enable to "pluck and pull" experts and their competence and increase personal motivation. The network enterprise is "that specific form of enterprise whose system of means is constituted by the intersection of autonomous systems of goals" - points out Castells (1996:171). These organizational level developments are concordant with Castells' (1996) indications about broad 'horizontalization' tendencies unfolding through network type structures replacing vertically integrated hierarchies as dominant form of social organization. The horizontal network enterprise is a phenomenon that besides shifting internal hierarchies also may change patterns of competition and cooperation across organizations (Castells, 1996).</p>
ideal type construct	
ideal type construct	<p>The thesis explores transformational outcomes of civil society organizations by examining their broader and long term effects. These tendencies are currently in their early, only nascent phase of development and their future impacts exhibit a potential that may or may not be developed and become effective in context of emerging knowledge society. The study carries out multi-dimensional process analysis and by capitalizing on methodological pluralism (Van de Ven and Pool, 2005) attempts to identify construct and concepts constitutive of an ideal type (Weber, 1949) description of the transformational outcomes of civil society entities. Such ideal type description necessarily remains partial, blurred, incomplete and 'utopic' as Weber (1949:90) warns since it "...is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized</p>

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	viewpoints into a unified analytical construct (Gedankenbild). In its conceptual purity, this mental construct (Gedankenbild) cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a utopias”(Weber, 1949:90). Consequently, while the study aims to identify and describe the various emergent tendencies and the transformational potential they may provide its imperative to give due attention to multiple, diverse, divergent and frequently controversial developments. I.e. to be aware that “any given conceptual model is a partial representation of reality, reflecting the perspective and interests of the model builder. A researcher must therefore be critically reflexive, stating clearly whose point of view and interests are served in a model proposed to represent reality (Van Maanen 1995) [italics added]”(Van de Ven and Poole, 2005:1397). Having said it the study aims to present a realistic and critical description of the civil society and its organizations wider transformational capacity and capability, i.e. their potential of social agency in context of emerging knowledge society.
ideology	Giddens discards the possibility of a single, comprehensive, all-connecting ideology or political programme. Instead he advocates going after the 'small pictures', since people can directly affect at their home, workplace or local community. “There is no single agent, group or movement that, as Marx's proletariat was supposed to do, can carry the hopes of humanity, but there are many points of political engagement which offer good cause for optimism”(Giddens, 1994:21). Upon him the “... 'Ideology' refers only to those asymmetries of domination which connect signification to the legitimization of sectional interests”(Giddens, 1984:33). The civil society potentially may enhance its role as a function system of society (Reichel, 2012) and may facilitate “...the provision of stability for joint collective action for something greater than just individual benefits...for the common good and social coherence ...to solve...[also wicked] problems that are not solved by any other part of society”(Reichel, 2012:58-60). An important issue is whether the aggregation of self-organizing efforts carried out by “going after the small pictures”(Giddens, 1984) may provide sufficient “stability for joint collective actions... for the common good and social coherence”(Reichel, 2012:58-60). The civil society through its self-communication may enact communication power (Castells, 2009) by co-creating “a particular 'type' of symbolic order or form of discourse” making operable a viable third alternative by going beyond the false dichotomy of ‘market versus state’ (Anheier, 2004) by justifying in practice the claim “tertium datur”. The enactment of the ‘civil virtue’ (Smith, 1790) through growingly ‘knowledgeable actions’ (Giddens, 1984) may facilitate to implement the larger vision about the genuine role of civil economy absorbing growing ‘volume’ of human creativity that the emerging second economy ‘liberates’ from wage work carried out as a job. I.e. it may enable to provide practical alternative for “jobless growth”. Such developments feedback with the self-empowerment of civil society by overcoming its “residual” or “third sector” role - assigned for it also by actual “mercantile interests” (Smith, 1790). The study assumes that the emerging networks of

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	civil organizations self-upgrading themselves to third degree social entities may play significant catalyst role by facilitating the civil society's self-empowerment enabling to carry out profound social agency and facilitate overcome increasingly sophisticated forms of mass-alienation and estrangement. Whether through aggregation of efforts by "going after the small pictures"(Giddens, 1984) enables civil society to become real societal change-maker or remains part of 'social ornament' legitimating growingly sophisticated mass-alienation trends and growing dominance of market and public sectors remains to be seen.
individuation	
individuation	<p>"...There is an important distinction between...- what could be called selfish individualism - and what is sometimes referred to as individuation ...Beck and Giddens...argue. Individuation is the freeing up of people from their traditional roles and deference to hierarchical authority, and their growing capacity to draw on wider pools of information and expertise and actively chose what sort of life they lead. Individuation is...as Beck points out... about the politicization of day-to-day life; the hard choices people face ...in crafting personal identities and choosing how to relate to issues such as race, gender, the environment, local culture, and diversity"(Grenier, 2006:124-125).</p> <p>Empirical data confirm findings of previous literature indicating that voluntary participation in cooperative efforts may facilitate to craft the individual members' autonomous self or holistic personality⁶¹⁹ independently what is the actual field of activity. The participation in cooperation may contribute to individual and collective empowerment and personal individuation, i.e. may be constitutive of one's "...own development process in this life"(100-204-5:395-396) as a coordinator in Silvia koti points out. The volunteers' mutually (self-)empowering individuation may unfold as lateral - rather than top-down - process generating the most important outcome of their contributions to collective efforts - although it may remain a tacit development.</p>
isomorphism	
isomorphism	<p>"Today ...bureaucratization and other forms of organizational change occur as the result of processes that make organizations more similar without necessarily making them more efficient. Bureaucratization and other forms of homogenization emerge ...out of the structuration (Giddens, 1979) of organizational fields. ...highly structured organizational fields provide a context in which individual efforts to deal rationally with uncertainty and constraint often lead, in the aggregate, to homogeneity in structure, culture, and output" - DiMaggio and Powell point out (1983:147).</p>

⁶¹⁹ The "...deep play...is not frivolous entertainment but, rather, empathic engagement with one's fellow human beings. Deep play is the way we experience the other, transcend ourselves, and connect to broader, ever more inclusive communities of life in our common search for universality. The third sector is where we participate, even on the simplest of levels, in the most important journey of life - the exploration of the meaning of our existence"(Rifkin, 2011:268).

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	<p>Traditionally, institutional isomorphism is perceived as a mechanism through which institutional-relational effects characteristic of market sector (organizations) impact both public sector and civil society organizations. In fact, players of market and public sectors may also follow altering pattern(s) that are growingly conducive to changes shaped by civil society organizations, as sharing transformation cluster plausibly indicates. I.e. 'non-traditional', association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures are present and possess growing significance due to the civil society's growing activities feed backing also with strengthening association-prone tendencies in third institutional infrastructure.</p> <p>The emergence of knowledge economy and society seems to feedback with increasingly multi-directional character of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) especially in context of macro-sectorial convergence tendencies affecting perceptions, approaches, and processes in all three major 'sectors' of society.</p>
knowledge society- emergence	<p>The study assumes that the 'horizontal emergence' of a knowledge society unfolds as overarching transformation of the industrial information society unfolding through (as the) convergence of the three societal macro-sectors. The transformations may capitalize on the non-depletable and non-rivalrous characteristics of the knowledge and the soft resources contributing to the extension and upgrading of the collective resource base. This favourable constellation may provide the capability to co-create and share 'additional' results, surplus wealth by generating positive disposition for association-prone changes by shaping the dynamics of the macro-sectorial convergence. The emerging digital second economy (Arthur, 2011) may provide growing potential to increase productivity by enabling to produce enhanced shared prosperity - provided successful agreements on changes in distribution of growing prosperity. An "...automation revolution is possible, but without a radical change in the social conventions surrounding work it will not happen ...to properly unleash the automation revolution we will probably need a combination of a universal basic income, paid out of taxation, and an aggressive reduction of the official working day" - points out Mason (2016) at the necessity following association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence enabling to follow an altered, inclusive and truly sustainable growth strategy. "... We need to foster a new type of growth, one that is more inclusive ... We also need to rethink growth as a means and not as an end. We have to give priority to the quality of growth over the quantity of growth. For this we need new models and tools to measure progress and the quality of our lives. This new concept of growth also has to respect the environment and recognise that 'we have to move from a growth without limits to a growth within limits paradigm' ..." - as OECD general secretary indicates the necessity of robust institutional changes allowing putting "people first" (Gurria, 2013). Current trends indicate growing</p>

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	necessity to reinterpret value creation and give preference to social - compared to economic - value and capital. An increasing primacy of associative powers with additive character and amplifying the association-prone dynamism of social fields may feedback with mobilization of self-multiplying capacities of social knowledge resources (by preventing attempts of second enclosure) and creating robust un-alienation tendencies constitutive of an associational societal kinetics.
knowledge – soft resources	<p>Since the knowledge possesses unique characteristics allowing enabling its ‘self-multiplying’, it can become the most prominent resource of wealth creation in a new socio-economic setting. The knowledge (I) can be divided, recombined, utilised and (re-) used while its relevance, power and ‘usability’ or efficiency increase rather than decrease. Other ‘traditional’ resources during their usage become worn out, diminished, and should be replaced or at least ‘recovered’ because they lose their strength and capacity. By contrast the knowledge through its implementation becomes verified, more precise and complex - it increases its ‘volume’ and improves in its quality and practically “multiplies itself”. (ii) It can act as an ‘ultimate substitute’ since it can replace any other resources, ‘ingredients’ necessary for ‘normal functioning’ of social life - including potentially also space, time, materials and energy. (iii) The knowledge is ‘freely’ sharable with others without decreasing its volume or exploratory effectiveness for the ‘donor’. (iv) The recombination of existing ‘knowledge elements or parts’ may result in new, additional knowledge.</p> <p>The ‘mobilization’, practical implementation of these unique characteristics of knowledge interplays with liberation of human (co-)creativity often through participative competition unfolding in co-creative, self-organizing teams and communities and aiming to fulfil human needs and facilitate personal happiness. The liberation of human creativity facilitates (i) the acceleration of knowledge creation also at social level, and through that (ii) it may provide potential to overcome resource scarcity. The dynamic multiplication of social knowledge resources is both a precondition and a consequence of the emergence of a knowledge-driven society where it is dominant resource of wealth creation, which becomes in a sense ‘self-multiplying’ or ‘limitless’. The (self-) multiplication of knowledge enables to overcome relative resource scarcity by refocusing on knowledge as basic social resource. More precisely: the mobilization of the “unique characteristics” of knowledge and the assurance of free access to it may enable to follow ‘multiple win’ approach feed backing with the emergence of a new ‘dominant’ public ethics and psychology, which (i) are co-creation and resource multiplication oriented; (ii) favour and facilitate associative approach and growing significance of associative powers on social field(s), (iii) facilitate the interplay among participative competition, altered dialectics of cooperation, and enhancing liberation of human creativity. Similarly to knowledge also information, creativity, vision, motivation, trust, flow experience, psychological energies may serve as ‘soft resources’</p>

	which are non-depletable and non-rivalrous (Bollier, 2007:28), therefore multipliable or self-multiplying. Due to these specific characteristics they can also contribute to expansion and upgrading of collective resource base.
networking self-upgrading	<p>The communities' transformational dynamism interplays with multidimensional association-prone changes affecting simultaneously (i) the individual members, (ii) the character of their relationships, and (iii) their communities as a whole, and (iv.) may also facilitate extended cooperation among (members of) diverse communities creating their tendency to networking self-upgrading. I.e. the cooperation's elevation into new, higher dimension by launching its new dialectics is intertwined with and takes place through the communities networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vítányi, 2007) social entities that may constitute quasi-fields. Since these feed backing changes strengthen enhanced cooperation among members of diverse entities and groups they bring about collaboration having inclusive and non-fragmented character, going beyond boundaries of particular entities and following more association-prone dialectics. The intense collaboration among volunteers belonging to different entities may transform cooperation into inclusive and seamless by raising it on qualitatively new level and preventing (the emergence of) cooperation paradox. The elevation on qualitatively new level of cooperation through carrying out simultaneously the communities' networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third degree (Vítányi, 2007) social entities generates mutual associational advantage by strengthening the participants' readiness to collaborate. Such "engagement into non-linear relationships" (Plowman et al, 2007) enables to capitalize on positive effects of networking model of resourcing by enhancing its effectiveness and facilitating to extend and upgrade the collective resource base. (Actually also value creation and power relations may capitalise on networking model.) Vítányi (2007) argues that the communities growing complexity that their networking self-upgrading catalyses interplays also with extensive and intensive increase of energy (and resource) mobilization and consumption. The volume and scope as extensive indicators simultaneously may indicate the number of interacting individuals, while the intensive indicators of energy mobilization are connected with intensity of collectively undertaken values by showing the degree how individuals identify themselves with common values. While second level communities are characterised with high volume and low intensity indicators, tertiary or third level communities are domains of high volume and high intensity indicators, i.e. large number of participants are intensely engaged with common values and facilitate improvements in their shared life quality.</p>

on demand economy	<p>A genuine sharing economy proposes to enact partly or fully unused “excess capacities” in order to improve life quality by fulfilling genuine needs. “What we’re finally beginning to realize is that we are wallowing in excess capacity: There are resources at our fingertips that are already bought and paid for and are not being used to their full potential. Turbulent economic times and the knowledge of our impact on the environment are making us rethink this, and question how we can better use the resources that we already have. How can we recycle more, share more, and ultimately get a better return on our investments? If you’ve already purchased a car ...perhaps there’s an excess capacity that you can take advantage of by participating in a peer-to-peer car-sharing...”(Chase, 2012). “In this model, corporations and individuals work together to capitalize on their respective strengths: Companies can take advantage of economies of scale, persistent investment, and the ability to provide standardized contracts, rules, and recourse - all of which are bound up in a brand promise - and, importantly, they build a platform for participation. Individuals then take advantage of that platform to do what they do best: provide an incredible diversity of service or product...through localization, specialization, and customization”(Chase, 2012). However, a ‘corporate variant’ of sharing economy combines software applications with patterns where “...innovation lies just as much in evading [labour] regulations as in developing new technology ...the firms in the on-demand economy did not build their empires.... They are running off your car, your apartment, your labor, your emotions, and importantly, your time. They are logistics companies that require participants to pay up to the middleman. We are turned into assets; this is the financialization of the everyday 3.0” - sum up Ehmsen and Scharenberg (2016) salient characteristics of an “on-demand” service economy frequently claiming - rather misusing - the sharing economy ‘title’. In this corporate, proprietary variant of sharing economy the platform owners and operators generate shared disadvantages for both actual providers and consumers.</p> <p>This “on-demand” approach combines loud marketing of - often non-existing - advantages to become “self-employed providers” with robust dis-empowering tendencies. “Now a mash-up of Silicon Valley technology and Wall Street greed is driving the latest economic trend: the so-called “sharing economy.” Companies like Uber, Upwork and TaskRabbit are allegedly “liberating workers” to become “independent entrepreneurs” and “their own CEOs.” In reality, workers are hiring themselves out for ever-smaller part-time jobs (often called as “gigs”), with no safety net or assurances of future work, while the companies profit handsomely” - points out Hill (2106) at dangerous tendencies simultaneously deforming ‘sharing economy’ into marketing ‘double talk’. Consequently, the duality of empowering and disempowering tendencies appears also in connection with sharing economy by deforming it into “on-demand economy”, which at level of narratives generates growing interest toward and popularity of sharing economy in practice generating profit for platform owners and operators by deforming and discrediting the very concept of sharing economy.</p>
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power networks - alienation of horizontalization	<p>The power networks (Vitányi, 2007) are attempts to keep stability and maintain status quo characterizing industrial information societies following traditional, static and hierarchical perception of power ‘over others’, i.e. to prevent alterations in power despite accelerating broader changes. The power networks re-establish traditional domination and control approach of power in networks by ‘occupying’ nodes on critical pathways and operating them as high positions in hierarchies. The dominance-seeking tendencies distort and deform horizontalization by re-transforming networks into domains and amplifiers of (mass-) estrangement tendencies. They generate simultaneously the (self-) alienation of horizontalization and re-establish domination-driven patterns of structuration as its ‘lead-structure’. Consequently, power networks misuse horizontalization by re-establishing both (i) estranging hierarchies ‘emerging horizontally’ and (ii) fragmented and exclusive collaboration directed against other individuals and collectives by re-generating and amplifying cooperation paradox. The rapid ‘proliferation’ of networks makes power networks even more indiscernible. Since they are less-visible and recognizable, more ‘tacit’ than “traditional” vertical hierarchies, the power networks harm trust, cooperative relationships, association-prone dynamism, they are robust sources of enhanced disempowerment and estrangement that generate mass-perception of exclusion, loneliness, and enhanced risk (Beck, 1992). “The individual is left alone in front of an ‘impenetrable forest’ of socio-economic networks...[and due to] the intensification of individualization has to confront alone with risks” - describes Vitányi (2007) mass-alienating effects of power-networks.</p>
quality shift	<p>Upon system theory the quality or systemic identity appears as characteristic pattern of functional-structural-contextual interplay enabling their lasting dynamic ‘synchronicity’ perceived as systemic stability or sustainability. During a quality (level) shift of a system all these aspects as well as their interplay go through feed backing changes, mutual adjustments while achieving new level and pattern of dynamic synchronicity; i.e. by forming a new pattern of organizational identity or quality. Consequently, to understand what the particular systemic quality means, and how a genuine quality change or shift unfolds, the dynamic interplay among these feed backing domains should be analysed and described by explaining how a pattern of ‘dynamic synchronicity’ of functional-structural-contextual interplay may emerge by enabling lasting systemic equilibrium. I.e. this approach to quality and quality shifts aim to describe how functional, structural, and contextual shifts are rearranged into a new, lasting pattern of dynamic synchronicity. This approach enables to question how to combine and orchestrate reversely affecting each other incremental changes in order to generate a quality shift. How to adjust, orchestrate components of a quality shift (factors, attributes; change events and processes; underlying mechanisms; alterations in context) to achieve a new lasting constellation, pattern of dynamic synchronicity? How to create (a shift to a) new quality without “jumping over the</p>

	<p>discontinuity"? What are tools, ways and mechanisms enabling to generate "continuous radical changes"(Plowman, 2007)?</p> <p>By following process approach a particular quality is seen as a certain pattern of the dynamic resultants of multidimensional process feedbacks. A quality shift can appear as a result of feed backing simultaneous transformations: (i) in attributes, variables describing primary characteristics of changing object or relation (empirical domain); (ii) at level of real change events (unfolding in actual domain); (iii) in underlying mechanisms, causal relations and processes (real domain). The process approach enables to consider also the dynamics of relevant - external and internal - contexts by being aware that contexts also may change with time.</p>
second enclosure	
second enclosure	<p>Attempts of "second enclosure" (Boyle, 2005; Hess and Ostrom, 2007) aim to re-transform knowledge, information, creativity, and generally all soft resources into depletable and rivalrous, i.e. to re-turn them into 'subjects' of the institutional dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. These efforts aim to re-enforce the dominance of market sector in context of emerging knowledge economy and society. However, second enclosure attempts re-generate and amplify economic, social, political, and ideological tensions by bringing about distractive socio-economic and ecological consequences through enforcing (primacy of) dominance-seeking competition and strengthening jobless growth tendencies while trying to (re-)establish the focal role of proprietary patterns in second digital economy driving the emergence of knowledge economy (and society).</p>
self-organization	
self-organization	<p>The thesis argues that the change pattern called 'self-organization' is a limited case of self-organizing appearing as temporally shifts in equilibrium-seeking entities characteristic for market and public sectors. These equilibrium-seeking hierarchical bureaucracies aim to deliberately exclude ('uncontrolled') self-organizing in order to ensure predictable, 'standardized', linear quasi-mechanical patterns of organizational functioning. Nevertheless - due to 'functional imperfections' generating competition trap with diminishing resource balance - they are unable to prevent and occasionally even to dampen internal fluctuations those amplification may force them to "enter into zone of elevated disequilibrium" by starting to balance at the "edge of uncertainty" (Prigogine, 1984, 1997; Stahle, 1998, Hirvikoski, 2009; Burgelman, 2009). The previous research points out that a system may start to amplify fluctuations instead of damping them and by "jumping over threshold of uncertainty" or "point of bifurcation" may launch self-organization, which unfolds at "uncontrolled manner" as if in a "black box".</p> <p>The study argues that in reality during period of self-organization the individuals' interactions aggregate into self-organizing. However, since (as long as) the institutional dimension remains characterized by twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view the self-organizing may re-</p>

	<p>generate and re-launch an altered pattern of equilibrium-seeking, i.e. a new configuration of systemic stability, which terminates and - tries to prevent the re-emergence of - self-organizing. To put it another way, the system temporally becomes the domain of ('uncontrolled') self-organizing or bottom-up structuration processes, nevertheless the participating individuals may continue to enact "cultural schemas" (Sewell, 1992) by following the dual institutional dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view. The intertwined dominance-seeking attitude and top-down logic may continue shaping patterns of structuration unfolding as interplay among signification, legitimation and domination - instead of collaboration - by (re-) generating an altered constellation of equilibrium seeking hierarchy. With re-emergence of a reshaped pattern of organizational hierarchy the self-organizing is terminated, the "system stops self-organization" by re-launching an altered pattern of equilibrium-seeking. Consequently, due to the institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view the (limited) self-organizing may take place as temporally self-organization, which re-establishes a new pattern of equilibrium-seeking (bureaucratic) organizational hierarchy - aiming to prevent and exclude (the re-emergence of) self-organizing.</p>
self-organizing	
self-organizing	<p>The study argues that the civil society entities are domains of continuous self-organizing. In case of the Neighbourhood Association's (re-) transformation the local civil society served as broader context characterized by strong institutional dual primacy of non-zero-sum approach and acceptance of interdependence. This association-prone institutional constellation catalysed and shaped the transformational dynamism of Neighbourhood Association by enabling robust "path-non-dependence" in a quasi-equilibrium-seeking entity. The strong association-prone character of the institutional dimension enabled to (re-)launch continuously unfolding self-organizing enabling to "organize without organization"(Shirky, 2008) by catalysing the residents' self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006). I.e. the emerging self-organizing in 'zone of elevated disequilibrium' generated feed backing changes, which were patterned qualitatively differently from the constellation that previous research calls as self-organization (Prigogine, 1984, 1997; Burgelman, 2009; Stahle, 1998; Hirvikoski, 2009; Plowman et al., 2007a,b). The institutional dimension's strong association-prone character and dynamism and the volunteers' vivid (self-) communication (Castells, 2009) were mutually catalytic. Their strengthening interplay catalysed the communicative interactions' (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995) aggregation into voluntary cooperation instead of hierarchies of role-driven activities. The interplay among (i) association-prone institutional tendencies, and (ii) self-communication (Castell, 2009) providing 'unprecedented autonomy' and the participants' growing awareness of the associational advantage arising from their cooperation - generated self-enforcing feedback loops by re-creating (iii) growing readiness and motivation to collaborate and amplifying cooperative atmosphere. The volunteers' intertwined intra- and interpersonal dialogues carried out sense- and decision making (Stacey, 2000, 2010) and aggregated into their vivid</p>

	<p>self-communication (Castells, 2009) by enacting and (re-)generating association-prone cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992). These association-prone structures, institutional settings operated simultaneously as (i) social capital enabling to (re-)generate trust and extend its radius, and also as (ii) institutional-type organizing platforms catalysing the volunteers' - parallel, distributed and mutually adaptive - cooperative interactions. The growing abundance of social capital created strong social capital generating trust with long radius, frequently extending beyond the organizational boundaries the range of both the self-communication (Castells, 2009) and the cooperative and communicative interactions (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995). The communicative interactions - due to "modularity of contributions" (Benkler, 2011) - simultaneously could enact locally also the necessary resources by enabling the volunteers' communicative interactions' (Habermas, 1974, 1987, 1995) aggregation into self-organizing cooperation. I.e. the cooperative interactions could generate self-enforcing feedback loops carrying out the communities' continuous self-organizing emergence by simultaneously fulfilling the volunteers' various needs, improving their life quality creating associational advantage, and regenerating their mutual trust and motivation to cooperate. Due to institutional twin-primacy of non-zero-sum approach and interdependence also the structuration followed association-prone configuration, i.e. the collaboration became the primary structure by replacing domination, by interplaying with continuously unfolding self-organizing carrying out "organizing without organization" (Shirky, 2008).</p>
sharing economy	
sharing economy	<p>"We've spent the last 200 years trying to create an economic system that values standardization and commoditization. The Industrial Revolution brought consistent products, consistent quality, and lower costs through mass production, and these are things we still value today. It seems, though, that we've taken this approach as far as we can, and have maxed out its benefits" (Chase, 2012). The sharing economy enables and promotes "...a shift toward a more open, collaborative system. A collaborative economy is more about the use of something than the ownership of it. People contribute information and ideas in an effort to find new ways to efficiently use existing technologies as well as drive innovation. Wealth, power, and influence are distributed among diverse individuals rather than controlled by a select few... People, not corporations, are at the center of the collaborative economy. The more people participating and the more diverse their areas of expertise, the better this model will work. And because there's so much diversity and openness, the collaborative economy is all about flexibility and experimentation, and, as a result, adaptation and evolution" - elaborates Chase (2012) on association-prone transformations constitutive of the emergence of a truly "sharing economy". The proliferating attempts replacing, deforming and degrading the sharing economy into its 'proprietary variant' or 'on-demand' economy may cause serious damages by misusing and destroying trust, hamstringing self-organizing, and re-boosting broader mass-alienating tendencies. However, only genuine sharing economy may enable to overcome 'forced sharing' of devastating unintentional consequences (Gurria, 2013) that the tyranny of short-termism (Barton, 2011) generates.</p>

social capital	<p>The social capital is “...informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals... [These norms are] instantiated in an actual human relationship... [and generate] trust...[which is] epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself”(Fukuyama, 1999:1). The social capital creates bonds of trust and reciprocity by generating trust and extending its radius. The trust enables (to start) communication, its strength influences the communicated content, while its range shapes the radius of self-communication. I.e. the success of communication is dependent on trust while in turn it is potentially trust-creating and enhancing. “A person who shares a lot of trust also enhances his or her scope of action... Trust is not based on reported factual information, but information serves as an indicator of trust...” - points out Stähle (2009:17). The strong civil society generates strong social capital and mutual trust having crucial importance for successful functioning of both the market and public sectors and their organizations. Since the strong social capital enables volunteering, creates readiness to mutually advance trust and even to provide unilateral contributions, the civil society and the ‘abundant supply’ of social capital mutually presuppose and catalyse each other. Since the civil society is the ultimate source of social capital this interplay has crucial significance for seamless operation of the macro-sectors and ultimately the entire society.</p>
social capital accumulation logic	
social capital accumulation logic	<p>The logic of social capital accumulation allows and presupposes the institutional dual primacy of non-zero sum approach and interdependence. The shift from institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view enables enhanced cooperation aiming to multiply and share resources by replacing dominance-seeking competition for their proprietary control. This altered approach perceives resources as sharable and multipliable rather than as per definition scarce what enables in multiple ways extending and upgrading the collective resource base.</p>
social field	
social field	<p>“The notion of field connotes the existence of a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside of the field”(Scott, 1995:56). Since the “...application of a distinctive complex of institutional rules...to a large extent, coterminous with ...definition of field”(Scott, 1995:135) they are characterized and ‘driven’ by institutional (dis-)similarities rather than by co-location or organizational connections. The characteristics of both the organizational fields and the third intuitional</p>

	<p>infrastructure may mutually affect and shape each other by simultaneously generating institutional isomorphic pressures as DiMaggio and Powell (1983) indicate. Although the isomorphism generally is perceived in connection with the market sector's robust effects toward the other two societal sectors, the empirical data also indicate the presence and growing significance of 'non-traditional', association-prone institutional isomorphic pressures. It is connected with the civil society's growing activities feed backing with strengthening association-prone tendencies in the third, institutional infrastructure. The communities and the civil society organizations in general seem to have a tendency to networking self-upgrading that feeds back with emergence of their quasi-fields by amplifying the association-prone trends and dynamics also across social fields. The quasi-fields of self-upgrading, 'third level' social entities and the new dialectics of cooperation may mutually catalyse each other as well as the association-prone dynamics constitutive of a new, associational societal kinetics - characteristic also for self-organizing 'emergence' of knowledge-driven society.</p>
social value generation	<p>Social value is focusing directly on quality of relationships and life by capitalizing on enhancing social capital - instead of attempting to achieve personal welfare through maximizing economic, financial value of return of (invested) economic capital. This perception interplays with the association-prone character of the institutional dimension preferring non-zero-sum approach and (accepting) interdependence. The social capital is "...informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals... [These norms are] instantiated in an actual human relationship... [and generate] trust...[which is] epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself"(Fukuyama, 1999:1). The social capital enables to extend the radius of trust, communication and cooperative interactions also among members of diverse social entities and groups by enabling to co-create collective life quality, which 'no money can buy'.</p> <p>The volunteers perceive relationships and cooperation as core values and can follow networking pattern of value creation by optimizing simultaneously the perceived value of the group and its individual members. The community of voluntary co-operators, similarly to the entire "...third sector ...is a commons...where people share their talents and lives with one another for the sheer joy of social connectivity ...in third sector, the relationships are an end in themselves, and are therefore imbued with intrinsic value rather than mere utility value ...[u]nlike the market, where relationships between people are predominantly instrumental and a means to an end - optimizing each person's material self-interest ...the core assumption in civil society is that giving oneself to the larger networked community optimizes the value of the group as well as its individual members ...like the Internet"(Rifkin, 2011:268).</p> <p>The interplay among focus on social value, institutional primacy of non-zero-sum approach and interdependence, abundance of social capital, trustful</p>

	<p>character of relationships, readiness cooperating to improve collective life quality, and focus on associational – instead of competitive – advantage are mutually catalytic and may form self-enforcing feedback loops. This constellation may generate readiness to volunteer, ‘to be at service’ by providing also unilateral contributions to collaborative efforts and (re-) generates motivation to volunteer.</p> <p>The (focus on) social value capitalizes on and facilitates to create abundant social capital by frequently enabling the radius of trustful relationships to cross boundaries of particular social entities by generating “positive externalities” (Fukuyama, 1999). The primacy of social value creates also preference toward wealth in human relations (rather than in material goods) by accepting the non-zero-sum character of wealth.</p> <p>The primacy of social value motivates to socialize, participate in and contribute to voluntary cooperative efforts bringing about improvements in life quality. Due to such value and wealth constellation the volunteers’ interactions follow social capital accumulation logic enabling avoiding commodifying logic and alienating, estranging effects of economic capital accumulation (Sewell, 1992). The primacy of social value creation feeds back with new dialectics of cooperation and competition by offering improved effectiveness of collective resourcing.</p> <p>The civil society organizations give priority to social value and non-wage work creating and sharing improved life quality by generating associational rather than competitive advantage and re-linking social and economic value in multiple ways. Since volunteer cooperation aiming to improve collective life quality may generate also economic value as “unintentional side effect”, it may trigger attempts to assert personal material self-interest that characterizes the broader environment of civil society organizations. However, if some of the participants try to switch one-sidedly to primacy and generation of economic instead of social values such attempt would damage and demolish mutual trust, moreover bring about distrust. This in turn may provoke termination of ‘open ended patterns of mutuality’ and ‘multilateral clearing’ among social values and unilateral contributions. I.e. attempts to follow unilaterally individual material self-interest and economic value would harm trust by ‘extinguishing’ voluntary cooperation and self-organizing. Because of differences in value preferences the cooperation between civil society and market sector players may be challenging exercise as open innovation exemplifies. The simultaneous co-creation of social and economic value requires meticulous assurance of openness, skilful management and maintenance of trust and social capital.</p>
societal infrastructures	
societal infrastructures	<p>The first societal infrastructure consists globally inter-linked and expanding networks of roads, rail- and, water-roads, pipelines, electric grids, lines of transmission and telegraph lines aggregating into transport and telecommunication capacities facilitating global mobility of goods and “human capital”, enabling service delivery including ‘traditional’ forms of telecommunication.</p>

	<p>The second societal infrastructure consists of global network(s) of mostly digital information-communication technologies often connected through Internet creating and amplifying the individuals' ability to carry out quasi-instant mobile contacts and communicative interactions with (growingly) global reach. The current emergence of the "Internet of things" (IOT) may generate additional 'physical link' between first and second societal infrastructure.</p> <p>A third societal infrastructure consists of networks and quasi-fields of civil society organizations carrying out networking self-upgrading into project (Castells, 1996) or third level (Vítányi, 2007) social entities feed backing with increasingly association-prone character of third institutional infrastructure, i.e. the "...wider social and cultural context...[the] environments [that] create the infrastructures - regulative, normative, and cognitive - that constrain and support the operation of individual organizations"(Scott, 1995:151). This soft, institutional third infrastructure also 'provides' for structuration both (i) interpretative schemes of signification enacted through communication and (ii) norms of legitimation for sanctioning. The institutional pillars (Scott, 1995) of third societal infrastructure enable and capitalize on association-prone configuration of structuration carrying out the constitution of society (Giddens, 1984). This third societal infrastructure actively catalyses association-prone changes, the transformation of the industrial information society into 'horizontal emergence' of a knowledge-driven society.</p>
societal sectors	
macro- societal sectors	<p>The market, the public sphere and the civil society are perceived as macro-sectors constitutive of the human society.</p> <p>The civil society - by following a currently dominant two sector view (Anheier, 2004) - frequently is depicted as third or tertiary sector of society with a connotation of being residual, less important partly due to perceiving it as 'resource less', dependent on the market and public sectors. I.e. the civil society "...remains 'uncharted territory' in a world long dominated by a two-sector view of market versus state"(Anheier, 2004:1). In reality, the "...civil society can be measured and analysed across four different dimensions ...economy, polity, culture and society at large... [I.e.] as a sphere, civil society extends beyond ...and transcends the notion of 'sectors' in important ways"- as Anheier (2004:31) emphasizes. The civil society is the domain of cooperative relationships, voluntary participation and self-governance serving as the ultimate source of social capital; it values trust, reciprocity, caring and voluntary contributions facilitating improving collective life quality. The civil society plays significant and increasing economic role, it has growing importance in employment creation, as well as in economic value creation and in (re-)linking social and economic value. Recently there is growing attention to the role of civil society depicted as self-organizing commons, which "...exists outside the typical definitions of the market and the state. It is not simply a negative to the market's positive; it is a parallel economy that does real work - often the most important work...an</p>

	<p>alternative way of meeting human needs ...the commons...is a social dynamic that - like the market concept - helps to explain how the world works ...namely the capacity of individuals to cooperate, which the conventional economic models systematically ignore. ...The role of government becomes not just to regulate the market and provide services the market doesn't, but to also support this third realm much as it does the market itself" - point out Rowe and Bollier (2016:2-3). These empowering tendencies contribute to self-empowerment of the entire civil society by facilitating its transformation into a social "...function system that is not in the 'in between' of everything, as so many definitions claim, but that has a clear focus in society with a clear and necessary function... providing joint collaborative action for the common good and social coherence... [It] tries to solve those problems that are not solved by any other part of society"(Reichel, 2012:58-60). The civil society's functional role "...is the provision of stability for joint collective action for something greater than just individual benefits"(Reichel, 2012).</p> <p>The term market sector is often used as a synonym of the private sector and the economy as a whole. It is perceived as the aggregate of businesses and organizations that are in direct competition with each other, which belong mostly to the private sector and are intended to earn a profit for the owners (shareholders) of the enterprise - although part of its players belongs to the public sector⁶²⁰.</p> <p>The public sector frequently is perceived as the portion of an economic system that is controlled by national, state or provincial, and local governments. However, considering the 'market vs. state' dichotomy the public sector includes also the government (sector) in its broad associative definition. I.e. it embraces also government involving legislators, administrators, and arbitrators, the set of political players and institutions that makes up, determines and enforces the policy of the state.</p> <p>The study assumes that the 'horizontal emergence' of a knowledge-driven society takes place as a convergence, mutual approximation and re-positioning of the three societal macro-sectors carrying out simultaneously the overarching transformation of the industrial information society.</p>
technology push	
technology push	<p>The current global developments often are depicted as driven by interplay between 'market pressures' and 'technology push'. I.e. both the technology development and the market trends frequently are described as powers superior to and independent from individual and even human intentions. The technology push in this altered, metaphoric sense obscures that the technology development - similarly to market tendencies - are the outcome of aggregated human efforts and interactions shaped by dominant culture, currently by institutional twin-dominance of zero-sum paradigm and resource scarcity view underlying the market sector's activity. Such presentation of 'technology push' deprives ability to affect and (re-)shape it.</p>

⁶²⁰ The charitable or non-profit organizations frequently are seen as belonging to the private sector.

	<p>In fact the “[t]echnologies are products of their time and organizational context, and will reflect the knowledge, materials, interests, and conditions at a given locus in history. There is nothing inevitable or inviolable about them...” - as Orlikowski (1992:421) emphasizes. A technology push driven emergence of second digital economy (Arthur, 2011) currently unfolds at growingly self-governed and self-(un)controlled manner. „The real dystopia is that, fearing the mass unemployment and psychological aimlessness it might bring, we stall the third industrial revolution. Instead we end up creating millions of low skilled jobs that do not need to exist” - points out Mason (2016) at possible devastating consequences on letting “technology push” to drive the emergence of second economy shaping also the convergence of societal macro-sectors. However, such ‘technology push’ driven pattern brings about ‘pre-programmed’ increase of socio-economic tensions, collisions and conflicts amplified by accelerating growth of inequalities (OECD, 2012; Piketty, 2014) and exponential increase of devastating environmental unsustainability extended by consequences of climate change. This setup may rapidly diminish the robust positive potential that the second digital economy could offer by providing increased productivity and genuine sustainability. Shifts following association-prone patterns of third institutional infrastructure may allow sharing - both production and distribution of - prosperity by enhancing a civil economy capitalizing on improved collective resourcing. I.e. the overcome of ‘technology push’ presupposes and in turn may facilitate association-prone patterns of macro-sectorial convergence by re-shaping the emergence patterns of a knowledge-driven society and generating a new associational social kinetics.</p>
<p>third institutional infrastructure</p>	<p>The “...wider social and cultural context...[the] environments create the infrastructures - regulative, normative, and cognitive - that constrain and support the operation of individual organizations”(Scott, 1995:151), i.e. operate as third institutional-type infrastructure. This soft, third infrastructure ‘provides’ for structuration both the interpretative schemes of signification enacted through communication and the norms of legitimization for sanctioning. I.e. the institutional pillars (Scott, 1995) of third societal infrastructure enable and shape structuration carrying out the constitution of society (Giddens, 1984). The increasingly association-prone character of the institutional infrastructure may facilitate growing primacy of collaboration as ‘primary structure’ by generating association-prone re-configuration of structuration. I.e. the third infrastructure due to its institutional character exhibits significant and increasing effects on interplay among-macro sectors by shaping patterns of their approximation that in turn serves as catalytic platform potentially facilitating the civil society’s self-empowerment and the self-organizing, horizontal emergence of a knowledge society. The characteristics of the third institutional(-relational) infrastructure interplay with the various, feed backing fields, since the “...application of a</p>

	distinctive complex of institutional rules...to a large extent, coterminous with ...definition of field”(Scott, 1995:135).
third societal infrastructure	
third societal infrastructure	The civil society organizations’ tendency for networking self-upgrading interplays with growingly association-prone character of the ‘soft’ institutional-type infrastructure, i.e. the “...wider social and cultural context...[the] environments [that] create the infrastructures - regulative, normative, and cognitive - that constrain and support the operation of individual organizations”(Scott, 1995:151). The volunteers by interacting in various civil society organizations (re-)generate association-prone institutional settings, structures (Giddens, 1984) or cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) operating as social capital by re-creating trust and extending its radius (Fukuyama, 1999). The mutually catalytic interplay among (i) growingly association-prone institutional dynamism, (ii) improving effectiveness of collective resourcing, and (iii) interlinked expansion of the radius of trust, self-communication and communicative interactions crossing the boundaries of particular civil society entities enables the civil society organizations’ networking self-upgrading into third level (Vitányi, 2007) social entities aggregating into quasi-fields. The feedbacks among the increasingly association-prone institutional dynamism and the emergence of the quasi-fields of self-upgrading civil society entities are mutually catalytic tendencies feed backing also with new dialectics of cooperation and growing effectiveness of collective resourcing. Their interplay may operate as active, institutional-relational-type third societal infrastructure catalysing broad association-prone dynamics and the civil society’s self-empowerment taking place through the macro-sectorial convergence. I.e. the institutional-relational-type third societal infrastructure, which may affect the emergence of the second digital economy (Arthur, 2011) by strengthening its association-prone character may shape simultaneously the primary pattern of mutual approximation among societal macro-sectors constituting ‘horizontal emergence’ of a new knowledge-driven society and amplify an associational societal kinetics.
trust	
trust – radius of	The trust “...[is] epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself [i.e. it is generated by] ...informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals... [and are] instantiated in an actual human relationship...”(Fukuyama, 1999:1). In communities and civil society organizations the volunteers’ are ready to mutually advance trust to each other. It enables their (self-)communication (Castells, 2009) enacting association-prone institutional settings, which serve as social capital re-generating trust and extending its radius (Fukuyama, 1999). The volunteers’ trust is their cooperative predisposition, readiness and motivation bringing about their cooperative attitude that generates their

	<p>readiness to communicate and cooperate without (additional) preconditions. I.e. the trust is the presence of the association-prone institutional settings, cultural schemas (Sewell, 1992) that may serve simultaneously as interpretative schemes of signification, and as mimetic mechanisms, taken for granted perceptions, or norms, i.e. as moral rules of legitimization.</p> <p>The volunteers' self-communication and communicative interactions re-generate these association-prone institutional settings serving as social capital that re-creates and amplifies trust and extends its radius. The self-communication may also re-generate the volunteers' awareness of the mutual, shared associational advantages, i.e. improving life quality and growing effectiveness of collective resourcing. It facilitates to accumulate abundant social capital with growing positive externalities (Fukuyama, 1999) generating enhanced trust with expanding radius that may cross, go beyond the boundaries of particular organizational entities by catalysing their networking self-upgrading and a new dialectics of cooperation.</p>
volunteer	
volunteer	<p>The volunteering is the readiness to participate in cooperative efforts without direct financial remuneration or economic return. The volunteers' motivation comes from fulfilment of multiple needs taking place without, independently from economic remuneration. I.e. their motivation may be created by a chance to socialize, to carry out favoured activities as passionate and sharing co-creation or non-wage-work, to experience flow, to enjoy team spirit, to experience belonging and the capacity to make a difference, to achieve self-fulfilment, self-activation, and self-transcendence (Maslow, 1943; Koltko-Rivera, 2006) i.e. to fulfil higher level needs, to follow genuine personality treats without pressures to fulfil requirements and 'play' roles, or to achieve empowering individuation enabling to re-establish one's autonomous self and holistic personality. Since the voluntary participation in and contribution to cooperative efforts may be connected with and driven by fulfilment of truly 'multi-coloured' needs, the volunteers' motivation in fact may be independent also from the direct outcome, the formal success or failure of the output of the cooperative efforts. I.e. the volunteers may participate for the sake of participation since their cooperation enables to co-create multiple wins by bringing about a perception of improving life quality or associational advantage.</p> <p>The cooperative efforts may simultaneously co-create abundant social capital, enhanced (level of mutual) trust with extended radius. The enhanced trust may enable self-enforcing interplay among primacy of social value, readiness to unilateral contributions, altered patterns of reciprocity and mutuality, unbundling of contributions and fulfilment of personal needs, extension and upgrading of collective resource base. I.e. the cooperative efforts facilitate growing motivation to participate by re-generating and amplifying cooperative atmosphere. These feed backing trends may facilitate to transform cooperation into taken for granted perception driving recurrent daily activities (Perez, 2002) and even into value and moral norm. The association-prone institutional tendencies and the growing awareness of their additive impacts may create and amplify similar tendencies also in</p>

	relational, value, power and resource context. The cooperative efforts may enhance social consciousness motivating contributions to social agency.
work - non-wage	
work - non-wage	The volunteer work offers altered context and facilitates to carry out the same pursuit as passionate and sharing co-creation, as non-wage work. Such altered work is perceived as meaningful and creative, liberated and liberating. Due to shifts in context the same activity may generate multiple outcomes perceived as positive by creating motivation independently from the concrete output. The altered context may enable to focus on quality and creative self-expression. Since the non-wage work simultaneously is participation in and contribution to collective efforts that brings collective appreciation, the transformation of wage work (carried out for earning a living) into non-wage-work or passionate and sharing co-creation facilitates to overcome and prevent estranging and alienating tendencies. The interplay among self-organizing mass collaboration (Tapscott and Williams, 2006), diverse forms of non-conventional work and large scale patterns of cooperation (Benkler, 2006) may contribute to emergence of altered, non-wage-work focused patterns of social division of labour serving as major source and amplifier of un-alienating tendencies constitutive of the new associational social kinetics characteristic for and emerging knowledge society.

The thesis analyses how civil society gains relevance as technical progress and jobless growth result in decreasing employment rates - leaving unfulfilled needs which are hard to be monetized or are uncovered by purchasing power. Although market logic does not consider them as demands worth pursuing, civil society is able to meet these needs. Through self-organizing meaningful work, it generates both social and market value, as empirical evidence suggests.

Local communities' transformational dynamics follows the non-zero sum approach, which enables gaining of empowering autonomy from centralized systems, and contributes to extending the social resource base. Networking allows collaboration to cross boundaries of particular organizations and generates new dialectics of cooperation and competition. The volunteers' self-organizing brings about an associational, growingly not for profit oriented dynamism of knowledge society - and may drastically change our definitions of a job and being productive.



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